

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

8/6/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

JFC
On 7/10/57, [redacted] NYC (protect identity), furnished to SAs ROBERT G. SWEENEY and JOHN F. LANGTRY a brief case which he had found on 7/9/57 in a telephone booth in the Independent Subway station at 23rd Street and Sixth Avenue, NYC.

A review of the contents of the brief case reflected that it belonged to SID STEIN (Organizational Secretary, CP USA, per CG 5824-S on 5/1/57.)

Having been notified by the NYO of the location of his brief case, SID STEIN and his attorney appeared at the NYO of the FBI on 7/16/57 to claim the brief case. STEIN was requested to sign a receipt for the contents of the brief case and upon the completion of this receipt, the brief case and its contents were returned to STEIN.

The above-mentioned receipt is maintained in NY file 100-50090-1B. The original film is maintained in NY file 100-50090-1B222.

Included in SID STEIN's brief case was a two page document entitled, "Outline for Report on Party Organization." These documents concerned organization and membership in the New England, Newark and Philadelphia areas. Copies of this document are attached.

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (ENCS.) (RM)
- 1 - Boston (100-7908) (CP, USA DISTRICT #1) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-4284) (CP, USA DISTRICT #14) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-17446) (CP DISTRICT NUMBER 3) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP) (19-2)
- 1 - New York (100-80641) (CP, USA ORGANIZATION)

JFL:dlo

(7)

100-80638-1267

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| AUG 6 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Outline for report on party organization.

1) Objective— How to unite and rebuild the party.
2) More favourable circumstances.
3) It is now decisively important to get an accurate picture of the State of our organization to examine concretely the reasons for our continuing losses and on that basis find some answers.

1) Trace losses to period before "APRIL plenum"

- a) we are getting organized in the center and in the districts.
- b) The growing expression of desire to work out a method of functioning in the face of continuing differences.
- c) Beginnings of mass work.
- d) The Supreme court decisions.
- e) Our convention decisions provide the basis for overcoming our Isolation.

4) Last registration 186 Losses at least about 50—Many of those remaining have lost enthusiasm. and some are on "the fence".

Quote f. 2.

Heaviest losses;

***** ~~resigned~~ Two Roxbury clubs—7 dropped—5 on fence

Springfield 12 dropped out 5 on fence

Lawrence 12 resigned

North shofe 4 dropped out

State of the rest of the organizations.

Newton—Middle class group of 8 in masss org. On fence

act/tk/wo 806.38-1242

Waterbury club not functioning, Worcester club not functioning, New Bedford club not functioning, Fall river small functioning organization with good contacts in the labor movement

Fairly welll functioning organizations

Dorchester Section 3 clubs no losses—little mass work—some active in Mass org.
Jewish old timers.

North Shore 15 active—Meeting regularly —attention to G.E. organized forum

Rhode Island functioning club of 12

New Jersey estimates. Maintain 600 in Party as of now though quite a number are not certain of their future status. Losses ^{about} 125.

²⁰⁰ Essex—¹¹⁵ 50, Farm 15, Hudson 10, Passaic, 13, Union 7, Middlesex 8, Bergen 5,
Mercer 10, Camden 6

Phila. Estimate 400 remain—100 losses in last period. Wiped out previously in the valley by attacks, ~~#~~~~#~~~~#~~~~#~~~~#~~ 25 people. Wiped out in Teachers 35. and other losses but the 100 are of more recent vintage.

On mass work

- 1) Everywhere-lgrge percentage of comrades in mass org,
- 2) H bomb campaign has caught on in many sections of the Party
- 3) Pilgrimage and civil rights generally ~~#~~~~#~~~~#~~~~#~~~~#~~ receive considerable attention
- 4) In some cases ~~party clubs~~ developing some community work
on their own Initiative —
- 5) the problem of the full character of the party organizations
below the district level.

ESTIMATED COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

As of June 30, 1957

The following figures are set out according to states and territories, field divisions and Communist Party districts.

MEMBERSHIP IN STATES & TERRITORIES

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|------|---------------|------|--------------------|-----|
| Alabama | 17 | Massachusetts | 233 | S. Carolina | 5 |
| Arizona | 25 | Michigan | 242 | S. Dakota | 41 |
| Arkansas | 0 | Minnesota | 192 | Tennessee | 8 |
| California | 2,97 | Mississippi | 0 | Texas | 64 |
| Colorado | 61 | Missouri | 92 | Utah | 36 |
| Connecticut | 2,60 | Montana | 29 | Vermont | 2 |
| Delaware | 14 | Nebraska | 10 | Virginia | 22 |
| District of Columbia | 119 | Nevada | 3 | Washington | 328 |
| Florida | 50 | New Hampshire | 10 | W. Virginia | 11 |
| Georgia | 3 | New Jersey | 603 | Wisconsin | 150 |
| Idaho | 17 | New Mexico | 16 | Wyoming | 0 |
| Illinois | 815 | New York | 4000 | <u>Territories</u> | |
| Indiana | 125 | N. Carolina | 25 | Alaska | 0 |
| Iowa | 11 | N. Dakota | 43 | Hawaii | 11 |
| Kansas | 2 | Ohio | 592 | Puerto Rico | 30 |
| Kentucky | 8 | Oklahoma | 19 | Total 11,504 | |
| Louisiana | 26 | Oregon | 84 | | |
| Maine | 4 | Pennsylvania | 429 | | |
| Maryland | 127 | Rhode Island | 7 | | |

MEMBERSHIP IN FIELD DIVISIONS

| | | | | | |
|----------------|-----|---------------|------|----------------|-----|
| Albany | 82 | Houston | 14 | Omaha | 21 |
| Albuquerque | 16 | Indianapolis | 125 | Philadelphia | 310 |
| Anchorage | 0 | Kansas City | 9 | Phoenix | 25 |
| Atlanta | 3 | Knoxville | 0 | Pittsburgh | 130 |
| Baltimore | 141 | Little Rock | 0 | Portland | 84 |
| Birmingham | 9 | Los Angeles | 1733 | Richmond | 13 |
| Boston | 274 | Louisville | 8 | St. Louis | 90 |
| Buffalo | 150 | Memphis | 8 | Salt Lake City | 39 |
| Butte | 46 | Miami | 50 | San Antonio | 12 |
| Charlotte | 28 | Milwaukee | 150 | San Diego | 63 |
| Chicago | 800 | Minneapolis | 276 | San Francisco | 701 |
| Cincinnati | 63 | Mobile | 8 | San Juan | 30 |
| Cleveland | 529 | Newark | 603 | Savannah | 2 |
| Dallas | 35 | New Haven | 246 | Seattle | 328 |
| Denver | 61 | New Orleans | 26 | Springfield | 10 |
| Detroit | 242 | New York | 3770 | WFO | 119 |
| El Paso | 3 | Norfolk | 9 | Total 11,504 | |
| Honolulu, T.H. | 11 | Oklahoma City | 19 | | |

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| JUN 30 1957 | |

100-30638-1248

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

DISTRICTSTotal

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| District 1 | 256 |
| District 2 | 4,000 |
| District 3 | 324 |
| District 4 | 246 |
| District 5 | 119 |
| District 6 | 601 |
| District 7 | 242 |
| District 8 | 880 |
| District 9 | 276 |
| District 10 | 55 |
| District 11 | 84 |
| District 12 | 328 |
| District 13 | 2,536 |

States Included in Districts

| | |
|--|-------|
| Maine | 4 |
| New Hampshire | 10 |
| Massachusetts | 233 |
| Vermont | 2 |
| Rhode Island | 7 |
| New York | 4,000 |
| East. Pennsylvania | 310 |
| Delaware | 14 |
| Maryland | 127 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 119 |
| West. Pennsylvania | 119 |
| Ohio | 592 |
| Kentucky | 8 |
| Four "Panhandle" Counties in W. Virginia | 1 |
| Michigan | 242 |
| Illinois | 810 |
| Indiana (Lake Co.) | 70 |
| Minnesota | 192 |
| N. Dakota | 43 |
| S. Dakota | 41 |
| Indiana | 55 |
| Oregon | 84 |
| Washington | 328 |
| Alaska | 0 |
| California | 2,497 |
| Arizona | 25 |
| Nevada | 3 |
| Hawaii | 11 |

DISTRICTS (Cont.)

| | | | |
|-------------|-----|--|-----|
| District 14 | 603 | New Jersey | 603 |
| District 15 | 246 | Connecticut | 246 |
| District 18 | 150 | Wisconsin | 150 |
| District 19 | 80 | Colorado | 61 |
| | | New Mexico | 16 |
| | | Wyoming | 0 |
| | | El Paso area of Texas | 33 |
| District 21 | 97 | Missouri | 92 |
| District 22 | 10 | Illinois | 5 |
| District 23 | 61 | West Virginia (less the four "Panhandle" Counties) | 10 |
| District 24 | 26 | Texas except El Paso area | 61 |
| District 25 | 50 | Louisiana | 26 |
| District 26 | 22 | Florida | 50 |
| District 27 | 25 | Virginia | 22 |
| District 28 | 19 | Alabama | 17 |
| | | Mississippi | 0 |
| | | Tennessee | 8 |
| | | Oklahoma | 19 |
| | | Arkansas | 0 |
| District 29 | 30 | N. Carolina | 25 |
| | | S. Carolina | 5 |
| District 30 | 46 | Montana | 29 |
| | | Idaho | 17 |
| District 31 | 3 | Georgia | 3 |
| District 32 | 23 | Nebraska | 10 |
| | | Iowa | 11 |
| | | Kansas | 2 |
| District 35 | 36 | Utah | 36 |

TERRITORIES

| | | |
|-------------|--------|--------|
| Alaska | 0 | 0 |
| Hawaii | 11 | 11 |
| Puerto Rico | 30 | 30 |
| | 11,504 | 11,504 |

*This figure is also computed in District 12.

**This figure is also computed in District 13.

NOTE:

Districts Number 16, 17, 20, 33, and 34
have been previously reorganized and combined with
other districts.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FIGURES BY FIELD DIVISION

| | <u>9/30/56</u> | <u>12/31/56</u> | <u>3/31/57</u> | <u>6/30/57</u> |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Albany | 191 | 173 | 160 | 82* |
| Albuquerque | 17 | 16 | 16 | 16 |
| Anchorage | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Atlanta | 2 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Baltimore | 141 | 141 | 141 | 141 |
| Birmingham | 7 | 8 | 8 | 9 |
| Boston | 436 | 416 | 254 | 254 |
| Buffalo | 192 | 180 | 150 | 150 |
| Butte | 47 | 44 | 45 | 46 |
| Charlotte | 39 | 34 | 29 | 28 |
| Chicago | 907 | 915 | 900 | 800* |
| Cincinnati | 78 | 75 | 62 | 63 |
| Cleveland | 529 | 529 | 529 | 529 |
| Dallas | 35 | 35 | 35 | 35 |
| Denver | 65 | 65 | 61 | 61 |
| Detroit | 257 | 242 | 242 | 242 |
| El Paso | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Honolulu, T.H. | 12 | 11 | 11 | 11 |
| Houston | 19 | 17 | 15 | 14 |
| Indianapolis | 132 | 132 | 125 | 125 |
| Kansas City | 13 | 10 | 10 | 9 |
| Knoxville | 5 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Little Rock | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Los Angeles | 1,925 | 1,961 | 1,961 | 1,733* |
| Louisville | 9 | 9 | 9 | 8 |
| Memphis | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Miami | 48 | 48 | 48 | 50 |
| Milwaukee | 150 | 150 | 150 | 150 |
| Minneapolis | 272 | 274 | 277 | 276 |
| Mobile | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| Newark | 722 | 730 | 700 | 603* |
| New Haven | 202 | 246 | 246 | 245 |
| New Orleans | 31 | 26 | 26 | 26 |
| New York | 8,432 | 8,394 | 8,394 | 3,770* |
| Norfolk | 14 | 11 | 11 | 9 |
| Oklahoma City | 21 | 21 | 19 | 19 |
| Omaha | 26 | 21 | 20 | 21 |
| Philadelphia | 443 | 443 | 394 | 310 |
| Phoenix | 25 | 25 | 25 | 25 |
| Pittsburgh | 146 | 131 | 131 | 130 |
| Portland | 80 | 82 | 80 | 84 |
| Richmond | 11 | 11 | 13 | 13 |
| St. Louis | 110 | 110 | 101 | 90 |
| Salt Lake City | 40 | 41 | 39 | 39 |
| San Antonio | 13 | 11 | 13 | 12 |

~~CONFIDENTIAL - EXEMPT FROM E.O. 13526~~ REQUEST BY TITLED DIVISION (cont.)

| | <u>2/20/55</u> | <u>2/21/55</u> | <u>2/22/55</u> | <u>6/20/57</u> |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| FOR DIAZ | 67 | 66 | 65 | 63 |
| FOR FERNANDEZ | 93 | 93 | 71 | 70 |
| FOR GOMEZ | 27 | 31 | 21 | 30 |
| FOR HERNANDEZ | 27 | 14 | 13 | 2 |
| FOR LIMA | 22 | 22 | 20 | 20 |
| FOR SANCHEZ | 22 | 22 | 19 | 19 |
| FOR TELLO | 15 | 15 | 12 | 11 |
| TOTAL | 17,503 | 17,340 | 16,723 | 11,504 |

~~-----~~ Indicates significant information has been deleted.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, New York

DATE: August 6, 1957

FROM : Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

There are being furnished herewith two copies of a chart showing the estimated Communist Party (CP) membership as of June 30, 1957, by states and territories, field divisions and CP districts, as well as comparative estimated membership figures by field divisions for the past four quarterly periods.

This data is being furnished for the information of the New York Office and should not be incorporated in any reports prepared by your office.

Enclosures (2)

1cc placed in
100-128817 (CPUSA-District 2-membership)

100-8638-1249

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| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 10 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 8/13/57

Attached hereto is a copy of a transcript of nine Dictabelts dictated by [redacted] on 8/5/57 in the presence of SA JOHN A. HAAG of NYO and SA VINCENT E. MURPHY of Newark.

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(The information contained in this transcript must be carefully paraphrased so as not to identify the informant with any locality or activity.)

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
(1 - CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP)
- 2 - Boston (100- [redacted]) (MIKE RUSSO) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (100- [redacted]) (MOLLIE WEST)
- 3 - Cleveland (100- [redacted]) (MARTIN CHANCEY) (RM)
(1 - 100- [redacted] } (HY LUMER)
(1 - 100- [redacted] } (ANTON KRCHMAREK)
- 1 - Detroit (100- [redacted]) (CARL WINTER) (RM)
- 1 - Indianapolis (100- [redacted]) (MANNY BLUM) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles (100- [redacted]) (DOROTHY HEALEY) (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100- [redacted]) (MARTHA STONE) (RM)
(1 - [redacted])
- 1 - New Haven (100- [redacted]) (SID TAYLOR) (RM)
- 1 - Pittsburgh (100- [redacted]) (STEVE NELSON) (RM)
- 1 - New York [redacted] (#7)
1 - New York (100-50090) (SID STEPHEN) (#19-1)
1 - New York (65-5604) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (#19-1)
1 - New York (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19-1)
1 - New York (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19-1)
1 - New York (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19-1)
1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (#19-1)
1 - New York (100-14606) (JOE CLARK) (#12-11)
1 - New York (97-169) ("DAILY WORKER") (#7-2)
1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (#19-1)
① - New York (100-80638) (CP, USA-MEMBERSHIP) (#19-1)
1 - New York (100-80641)

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JAH:mak
(28)

100-30638-1050

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| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 14 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

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This is a report of the National Committee of the Communist Party held in New York City on July 27, and 28, 1957 primarily.

These remarks deal with the session of Saturday, July 27, however, some references will be made to the session of July 28. The meeting was held at the Yugoslav Hall on West 41st Street.

All members of the National Committee had been previously instructed to report to the National Office at 23 West 26th Street and from the National Office they would be taken to or would be given the address of where the meeting would be held. The meeting was scheduled to start at 10:a.m. but it did not get under way until after 11 o'clock.

It was opened by Sid Stein who informed the members and visitors present that arrangements had been made for meals within the building and therefore, it would be unnecessary for members to leave the building until adjournment which was expected to be late that night. The meeting finally adjourned about 9 o'clock in the evening.

Stein told the meeting that a reconsiderations had been given to the order of business from what had previously been adopted. Several additional points were included for consideration. Originally the meeting was

supposed to consider a report by Gene Dennis on the H Bomb Campaign and secondly, a report by Stein on the organizational status of the Party and proposals to get the Party out of the ditch it is now in. At the last meeting of the National Executive Committee a number of objections were made to the nature of this agenda and proposals were made to include some additional items as would warrant the coming together of 60 people from throughout the nation at a cost of over \$8,000.00.

Subsequently there was added to the agenda a report and draft statement of the National Executive Committee on the recent changes in the Soviet Union, that is the removal of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich, and others. The aim of this discussion and statement was to be the development and adoption of an attitude by the American Communist Party upon these matters.

A third point which had been added was a report of the Education and Publications Committee to be made by Hy Lumer and to detail the work up to now of the Educational Committee and its plans for launching an educational and ideological campaign within the Party and to

initiate a program of publishing a number of publications, pamphlets, and educational outlines.

Present at the meeting were all members of the National Committee with the exception of four or five who were either on vacation or whose absence was otherwise not explained. Among those absent were George Blake Charney of New York, Jesus Colon of New York, [redacted] of New York, William Schneiderman of California, [redacted] [redacted] who, however, came the second day, [redacted] [redacted] of New York, who also came the second day.

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In addition, a number of non-members were present. These included William Albertson of New York, presumably substituting for George Blake Charney, Louis Weinstock, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Alexander Bittelman, Albert Blumberg, Morris Childs, Jack Stachel, and Jack Shulman who functions as Foster's chauffeur. One other young person was at the meeting in some kind of a clerical capacity and whose name could not be determined. Finally, [redacted] [initials] the secretary at the National Headquarters.

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In opening the meeting, Stein indicated that it was the desire of the National Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee to concentrate most of the attention and consideration of the meeting on the report to be made by Dennis on the H Bomb issue and the report to be made by himself on the internal status of the Party organization. He indicated that these two reports were collectively formulated and had evolved over a number of weeks of discussion by a number of other meetings and groups. He said that if we were to put our teeth into the content of these reports, it would be possible to believe that the Party would at long last be getting out of the rut and getting down to work.

He proposed the adoption of the agenda as earlier indicated and called for the election of a chairman. Dorothy Healey of California was chosen to act as chairman of this session. She introduced Dennis, who spoke about one hour and ten minutes. His speech was of a type which will later appear in publication. For that reason, no one particularly took note because they viewed it as a respectable document or presentation.

The nature of the report of Dennis on the H Bomb issue did not materially differ from his previous report

on this matter and the article which he had recently in the "Daily Worker" or the content of the letter which, under his signature, was recently addressed to President Eisenhower. He reviewed, at quite some length, the worldwide hostility to the continued H Bomb tests and the fearfulness which these tests are creating amongst the people of all countries.

He reviewed the recent appeal made by Dr. Albert Schweitzer, by Pope Pius and by outstanding groups of scientists who have gone on record as opposed to the continuation of the H Bomb tests as detrimental to peace and to all human life. He developed a line of thought that the people of all countries are opposed to the continuation of these tests and that it is essential for peace in all countries for the progressive forces to do everything they possibly can in an energetic and consistent fashion to help spur and prod the organizational get-together of these forces who are so opposed. A large part of this section of his report dealt with the possibilities of organizing this opposition to the H Bomb issue and in such a way whereby the Communists would be acceptable as a part of this opposition and not necessarily setting out

on their own initiative to do this by themselves. He undertook a considerable discussion on the political aspects of the H Bomb issue and thought that fine differences in approach and aims between what he called groups within the camp of monopoly capital. He professed to see a different line of approach and tactics on the part of the camp supposedly represented by Secretary of State Dulles and other forces in the nation and in policies represented by [redacted]

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The essence of this report was to try to indicate the differences of viewpoint and difference in approach being taken by various circles of American public opinion in an effort to search out the most practical area for the intrusion by the Party forces to work together with them upon a united front basis.

In his organizational discussion one thing he ^{was} emphasized over again/that it would be wrong for the Communist Party forces to try to approach taking advantage of this wide-spread sentiment around the H Bomb tests in a non-partisan Party fashion and he discussed the need of a tactical line as would have the Party be a part of a larger more formidable oppositional tendency and grouping

around this question. For this purpose he reviewed the many liberal, religious, humane, labor and other types of trends in the country which take a view opposed to the H Bomb tests and indicated the need of finding the forms, the tactics, the ways and the means of linking the Party forces with this type of movement, rather than standing alone and doing things in its own name and on the basis of its own strength and organization.

As indicated this report will be published, perhaps cleaned up a bit, or edited for publication purposes and for that reason I do not dwell upon it too much further.

Very few people were taking notes on the report being submitted by Dennis because they knew it was going to be published and also because for anyone it is a most difficult experience to follow Dennis in his speaking because he is a very difficult and mumbling type of speaker. To understand anything he is saying, regardless if one is sitting right by his side at the moment, is almost impossible.

After Dennis concluded, five or six speakers took the floor in ten minute remarks in an effort to discuss the points which he had indicated. Among these speakers were

Anthony Krchmarek of Ohio, Hy Lumer the Educational Director, Mollie West of Illinois. The nature of the remarks of all these speakers was to confirm on the basis of their own experiences the facts reported and discussed by Dennis as to the trend of opinion among the people on this question and the great possibility of making large advances if the Party were to but turn its face toward this problem.

There was an effort surrounding this report to create an atmosphere of unity and cooperation in the ranks of the Committee and establish the impression that at long last the Party was proceeding to mass work. It was an artificial thing because everyone present realized it was an interim report and that the main fireworks would come later. Consequently, while trying to give an impression of unity and objectivity all during the time Dennis was reporting and the speakers who followed, there was among all the others attending the meeting a restlessness and a listlessness and a disinterest and the general feeling and opinion being that it would end as soon as possible in order to get to what they considered the main business.

The Dennis report was discussed for about an hour and fifteen minutes. By that time it was already lunch time and a motion was made to adopt his report as the line of the Party and to proceed to carry out and publicize the recommendations and organizational suggestions contained in the report. This motion was adopted unanimously primarily because there was no controversy involved.

The meeting at this point adjourned to the downstairs hall of the Yugoslav Hall, which is a restaurant and barroom setup. Arrangements had earlier been made with the management to have meals prepared for all attending the meeting. It also appeared that the management had, for these two days, not engaged any of its numerous halls or meeting rooms to any other organization. The result being that for these two days the entire building was occupied only by the National Committee and its visitors.

Upon reconvening Krchmarek of Ohio was chosen as chairman for the session. He presented Sid Stein to make the report on organization which was the second point in the order of business.

Stein spoke a total of two hours and twenty minutes. The report he made was the same one which has been evolving in various meetings of the NEC over the past three months. He presented this report in the name of the NEC and indicated it was a collective report for the National leadership generally but that certain other comrades disagreed with certain aspects of the report but not the body of the report.

He started the report by saying that it was necessary for the Party once and for all to grapple with its real problem and face up to what the present situation was all about. He said that seven months have passed since the National Convention had been held. In these seven months there have been tremendous losses in the Party and while the losses are abating it is only in the rate of the losses because up to now the deterioration and the continued losses have not been arrested. He asked why was it, and everyone wished to know, after the 16th National Convention in February adopted a generally unanimous line of policy, strategy, and tactics that such losses continued and such internal deterioration could not be arrested.

He stated that the Party today does not have more than ten thousand members; that compared to the 1956 registration, which would represent about 15 months ago, this is a loss of seven thousand members because the Party in 1956 registered 17,000. He said that this ten thousand now remaining must not even be considered a fixed figure for the reason that losses continue although at a lesser rate. Even worse, a large part of the remaining ten thousand members are sitting on the fence, are inactive, and indeed a number declare they are uncertain if they intend to remain in the Party.

Parenthetically, when he spoke later in the discussion, John Gates stated that in his opinion the ten thousand members reported was a highly inflated figure and he believed it to be even several thousand members less.

Stein said this loss was not only from rank and file members and members in the lower ranks but that it also included large and important segments of the Party cadre personnel and leading members and functionaries.

Illustrative of this last remark he mentioned that it included even members who were or are now Smith Act defendants, like two in New England, one in Connecticut,

one in Missouri, as well as a large number of former section organizers, county leaders, and state leaders, as well as Communist members who were functionaries in mass organizations.

To indicate the serious nature of the problem and the rate of losses, he read off a number of figures from a table which included all Party districts. I will quote these figures, being from memory and subject to correction, on the basis of the full table which will be provided later on. These figures are a comparison between 1956 registration and the present. The present figure, he stated, was not exact but was based upon what he called an educated guess. The present figure is calculated on the basis of present dues payments, reports from district leaders, and from surveys made by district leaders and national office people. The figures are as follows:

1956

| | | |
|-------------|------|----------|
| California | 2900 | Now 2200 |
| Ohio | 650 | Now 400 |
| New York | 8800 | Now 3500 |
| New England | 150 | Now 88 |
| Connecticut | 200 | Now 100 |

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------|
| Pittsburgh | 150 | Now 88 |
| New Jersey | 725 | Now 600 |
| Minnesota | 250 | Now 200 |
| Washington | 350 | Now 300 |
| Illinois | 1000 | Now 600 to 650 |
| Oregon | 130 | Now 60 |
| Florida | 60 | Now 38 |
| North Carolina | | 33 |
| Georgia (Combined) | No previous figure given | |
| Eastern Pennsylvania | 600 | Now 400 |

(The statistics on a number of other districts such as Colorado, Missouri, and several Southern states I can provide in a few days.)

Stein commenced to discuss what in the opinion of these collective discussions were or are the reasons for this decline. He spoke about the arising of two extremes in the Party and in the leadership.

One extreme, apparently referring to the Foster group but also such ultra left groupings represented by Al Lannon, the late Jim Ford, [redacted] and a number of others, a group and trend which he characterized as hostile to the decisions of the 16th Convention who thought the

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Convention decision went too far in indicating the Party's separation from Moscow, take the attitude that a revisionist plot is afoot to destroy the Marxist-Leninist basis of the Party and deem it necessary to fight for the saving of the Party from non-Communists and anti-Communists and because of this, although accepting the Convention decisions in words, in practice have set about to scuttle the decisions and try to revert the Party to what it was before the Convention and before this whole discussion started in the Party.

He characterized this trend and group as sectarians, dogmatists, and leftists. The other group he characterized as those who have lost faith in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, those who see no future for the Party, those whom the recent developments have thrown for a loop and have distorted their ideological and political outlook, those who see that the Party is compromised before the working class, those who say that they are disenchanted, those who say that the program approach and activities of the Party are inconsistent with the needs of the American people and the American working class, and a number of others who take the position that the Party must fundamentally revise its approach,

its program, its outlook, and its activity to bring it more into keeping with the outlook and the thoughts of the American people and American working class.

Stein then said that the approach of these two groups has nothing in common with the decisions of the Convention; In effect, both groups reject the decisions of the Convention and in effect both groups commenced to apply their own reactions after the Convention was over and especially after the last National Committee meeting.

He described the struggle between these two extremes as generating the existing factionalism which has succeeded in sundering the movement in a number of districts, particularly in New York.

He concluded that where factionalism was greatest, there the losses were extreme, again the case in New York. Where the factionalism was the least, there the Party succeeded somewhat in holding its ranks.

Inferentially he was talking the point of view of the FOSTER group. He said that the National Convention went on record to retain the Party, to retain the name Communist Party, and to keep that Party upon a Marxist-Leninist basis. Therefore, there was no reason for any personal group to set themselves up as gladiators and wage a severe struggle for the Party, its name, its structure and its Marxist-Leninist basis. It was wrong and impermissible for any such group to continue to wage the same kind of a fight that had been resolved at the Convention, and ended there. It was impermissible for any group, meaning FOSTER, to continue to conduct an aggressive attack, against all of those who previously had been of the opinion that a political association was necessary and not the Party, and to take the attitude FOSTER does. Their acceptance of the convention decision on this matter was insincere, and they consider their whole world to be only that of using their positions to revise the program of the Party and in fact to do away with it. He characterized this as an impermissible activity which had a lot to do with driving people out of the Party and in general creating a lot of the factionalism which still exists. He pointed out that more than half of the state

leaders of the Party during the pre-convention period had expressed themselves in favor of a political association and of reorganizing the Party accordingly. But ~~etc.~~ after the convention, they accepted its decisions and orally declared they were ready to go along with its decisions.

STEIN said that the continued attack upon the leaders and members was of such a nature that it was driving many of them out of the Party and was one of the main factors responsible for the present bad internal Party situation. He characterized this as one extreme that has to be rejected, and rejected immediately or else the condition will grow worse. The other extreme he then discussed ~~etc.~~ was the extreme represented, although unnamed, by a number who disagreed with the decision of the Convention in keeping and re-establishing the Party, because they have no faith in the correctness of such a decision. They stood for a fundamental reconstruction of the Party, prior to and at the convention, in the belief that the Party had outlived its usefulness;

that its name was compromised before the people, and that it was an ineffective instrument to wage the struggle for socialism in the United States.

These people claimed they are for socialism and are willing to work and struggle for its realization in our country. But do not believe that the present Party, its name, its structure, its reputation or its tactics and strategy is the instrument to achieve that purpose. And although they accepted the decision of the convention to re-establish the Party, in the main, their attitude has been to wait and see and hope that changes will be made in accordance with what they consider the reality of the situation. STEIN attacked this group for such viewpoints, and ascribed to this group the responsibility for a sitdown which so many are guilty of at the present time. And he ascribed to this group the responsibility for a large chunk of the losses because inferentially they are preaching no faith, no confidence in the Party, in its program or in its future. He asked: if this then is the outlook of this group, how can they possibly

instill an inspiration or a courage among cadres or among members to stay in the Party, to serve the Party and to accept the decisions of the Convention.

He gave an example of how the influence of this so-called second extreme works. He mentioned that in New York City there was an industrial division of 106 members. This division was headed by leaders rejecting this second extreme. After the Convention, these leaders did nothing or go to these 106 members, admit they were wrong and make a fight for these members to understand and accept the convention policy. The result was that the leadership abdicated, threw up its hands and sat on the fence. The result further was that this section of 106 industrial members presently has only 6 members. Stein blamed leaders and cadres who accept this second extreme, for such losses , and argued that it was not the nature of the convention policies which created this loss but was solely and purely the abdication of the leadership of / ^{this} section which is a good example of losses in other areas for the same reason.

He gave a second illustration of a section of 300 members where the leadership also abdicated at the Convention, sat on the fence and kept hoping for a change. This section lost 150 members and presently has half of what they formerly had.

Stein kept insisting that without the losses by provoked/factionalism of the first extreme and the inacceptance of the convention policies by the second extreme, and had both loyally rallied around the convention policies, ~~these~~ these losses would have been mostly averted and the Party would have substantially held its ranks. As contrasting example, he gave the picture in Cleveland. Cleveland previously had 550 members, that is the City of Cleveland. After the convention was over, the Cleveland top leadership acted differently than the two extremes formerly mentioned. They went to the members and explained the policies and they mobilized the members in support of the policies. The result is, according to Stein, that only 50 out of 550 were lost, and that not all of these 50 can be ascribed to the political internal situation.

He gave another positive example of the situation in New Jersey which had 725 members in 1956, presently reports 600 and said that the loss of 125 was also not all due to the internal political confusion.

Paranthetically it may be said that there are a number of questions raised by New Jersey leaders themselves whether this figure of 600 remaining members in New Jersey is not highly inflated and that the ratio of loss has not been much greater. Apparently it is because if more than 400 members are presently available it would be a great surprise.

Stein made the major conclusion on the basis of this first section of his report. That it is necessary once and for all to clarify just what the Convention can do. What policies it enunciated, particularly with respect to the Party, and around that explanation to mobilize the remaining membership of the Party in support of these policies.

First he emphasized that for us there can be no confusion; that the convention re-established the Party, retained

its name, retained its Marxist-Leninist form of organization, adopted a new line in relation to the peaceful transitions of socialism, and adopted a policy of self-interpretation of Marxist policy here in this country, implying an independence of orders or dictation from Marxist or Party organizations abroad.

He said we can allow no further ambiguity or confusion on what we stand for and what we hope to do. We are for the Party, we have reconstructed the Party and it is a Marxist-Leninist Party, it is a Party independently charting its course, it is a Party standing for the peaceful transition to socialism, it is a Party maintaining friendly, ^{and} cooperative relationships with Marxists abroad, but in the long run makes and outlines its own policy and its own interpretation of world and national events. And around this program, and around this Party, a necessity now appears to clarify this, to clear up any idea of any change about to take place, to establish clearly what we are and what we stand for and on that basis go out and rebuild

the Party. Rebuild the Party on the basis of the decisions and policies promulgated by the 16th Convention and if necessary in the course of that to combat and to defeat any extreme that misinterpreted or which, in their effect, tend to destroy the Party and throw it off the track.

From there, Stein went into a considerable discussion lasting nearly an hour, on why so many people left the Party and for what reason. He discounted the fact that these were weak people and he argued critically against arguments that they were not worthy or that they failed in the struggle. He pointed out that these 7000 or 8000 members who left were such as who remained in the Party in its most difficult days, through the period of the Cold War and McCarthyism, that they contributed heavily in the past to the work of the Party, they showed no cowardice and that, therefore, it is vicious and untrue to do as some, meaning Foster, who say that they are weaklings and the Party is better off without them. He stressed that among these members leaving are some very important, very widely known and some very long term... functionaries, former leaders and well-known

people, who by no stretch of the imagination could be characterized as weak or unworthy people. He said it was clear that they lost perspective, that they misinterpreted the events that had occurred, they came to see the Party in a certain wrong relationship, their ideological structure was not of the strongest which allowed them to be thrown for a loop, when the Khrushchev speech became public and other similar events occurred. He thought that they failed to realize the overall meaning of rule of the Soviet Union as a progressive and liberating force in world history, and saw only and merely the distortions and even the crimes which had occurred in the process of constructing that world socialist force.

From this entire discussion he drew several conclusions, First, . . . with regard to all these defecting members, it is necessary for us to take toward them a positive and friendly line of approach and to seek to win them back one by one and win them on a basis of friendly discussion, explanation and argumentation, and in no case to take toward them

a hostile attitude or one of condemnation, such as Foster proposes with regard to Howard Fast, Starobin, . . . and many others who have left. He proposed that one of the first steps toward rebuilding the Party would be primarily to make an approach toward every ..one.. of these people who have left, and proposed that every type of Party committee, club and organization list down the name of each one in this category, and particularly to list those of cadre and personnel quality, assign people to go see them and cover each of them individually with a serious effort to clarify their objections to explain their problems and try to bring them back into the Party. They, however, may have differences of such a nature as prevents them from rejoining the Party today, we ^{can} look at them then as socialist forces, as progressives and try to find an intermediate form of organization, which they may join, an intermediate type of discussion group, Marxist or socialist study group or some similar intermediate type of committee group or club which would tend to draw them closer to the Party or at least under the influence of the Party.

Parenthetically it must be said that the Foster group objects very vehemently to this proposal. First, because they look upon the people as deserters and defectors who have shown such weakness that they do not belong in the Communist Party. They consider them traitors to socialism and traitors to the Communist Party. They favor a policy of severe attack upon them, for being deserters. Secondly, the suggested intermediate type of organization which Stein would provide for them, the Foster people condemn as being something dual to the Party and argue it is not possible to build the Party and build these kind of things side by side with it. They argue that it is not the business of the Party to provide cozy, respectable, little groups for defectors when there is a Communist Party for them to join if they were not too cowardly to do so. Around this suggestion of Stein, a considerable heated argumentation occurred at different points throughout the meeting.

Stein suggested to all District and State and local organizations an immediate examination of every club and group and committee along the lines of this discussion for the purpose of concretely and immediately examining the causes of losses which he said are different in many cases and that the causes are not all uniform and to take the necessary measures to try to win back all of these members on an individual basis and failing in that, to try to find some other type of satisfactory intermediate form to involve them in work close to the Party. From there he discussed in considerable detail two other aspects which are in the educational and ideological field.

He stressed that many of the losses that have occurred and will occur have been due to ideological confusion and a lack of understanding of the meaning of Marxism-Leninism and the role of the Communist Party in a capital society. He stressed that many

left the Party because they were momentarily influenced by subjective considerations and also in many cases by the propaganda of the enemy. In order to remedy this, he proposed the development of an extensive ideological and educational campaign inside the Party of classes, discussions, seminars, schools and the development of theory in booklets, educational outlines, lectures and things of that nature, all designed to clarify the membership and to elevate its ideological understanding of the meaning of Marxism -Leninism. He mentioned that the Education and Publications Commission, headed by Hy Lumer has succeeded in outlining a large scale campaign which will be reported to the meeting.

He stressed the need of the Party commencing to function in a different way and appealing not only to the people but to its own members to do things in a way differently from the past, and that to the extent this was done it would engender confidence and respect in the members who would understand the new type of Party we are trying to build. He called attention to the two recent statements issued by the national organization as good examples of this new type of responsible approach and which indicates the need of the Communist Party in this country. These statements are the letter signed by Dennis addressed to the President on the H bomb and the editorial in the "Daily Worker" appraising the events of the Soviet Union and the removal of Molotov, and others.

He discussed in detail the need of the party explaining, educating and teaching its own members, as well as the people generally, the nature of the Soviet Union, its socialist structure its achievements as well as critically to examine

its failures, all with the aim of establishing an understanding of the great progressive role and force of the Soviet Union in the world today. He mentioned that the organizational situation in the national leadership has been stymied, especially since the last National Committee meeting, and said that a lot of the trouble in the Party today is and has been due to the failure of the national leadership to respond to its obligations. He pointed out that immediately following the National Convention, the serious factional struggle commenced and after the last National Committee meeting in April until the present, it has continued unabated. The result has been that the National Committee has not organized itself. Its departments and commissions have not been established with the exception of a few, and this situation made it impossible to veer toward constructive and practical work. He said the National Convention and the April meeting of the National Committee had not found it possible to elect general officers, and that as

far as he could see even this meeting could/^{not} proceed to do that either. He described at length the functioning of the national setup in the last six months of feeling its way toward the setting up of one commission, another department and eventually winding up with a group of seven administrative secretaries.

The National Executive Committee which meets between the National Committee meetings, meets monthly and this group of seven secretaries he believes is^{not} sufficiently authoritative or coordinated to lead and guide the work at the present time, and that ... for this the national leadership itself, must be held accountable^{and} for most of the disruption and disorganization that has occurred since the National Convention adjourned. He did not propose, but in passing indicated the advisability of adding several additional members to the NEC; of adding several new members to the National Committee and of taking immediate steps to construct finally all of the National Departments and National Commissions which up to this time had not been set up.

Presently the only National Commissions set up and functioning are the Farm Commission, the Public Affairs Commission and the Educational Commission. He pointed out that the same situation prevails in most of the districts. It was only five months after the National Convention that most of the state organizations had completed selecting their state or district committees. Presently very many of the state organizations are in the same condition as the national setup, with regard to commissions and departments and assigned responsibilities.

He stressed that this condition must come to an end; An immediate responsibility following this meeting must be for all state and districts as well as the national to finalize all their work in this respect. He said he did not intend to discuss the situation in the "Daily Worker", which logically would be a part of his report because Jack Stachel would make a

supplementary report immediately upon the conclusion of his, Stein's report, and Stachel would cover in detail the organizational and policy problems which beset the Party with regard to the "Daily Worker".

Stein confined himself, on the "Daily Worker", to mention that a subcommittee the other day had made a proposal to cut the "Daily Worker" to four pages, from its present eight. He said that he was opposed to this proposal, but that if nothing else could be done to save the paper altogether, he would go along with it. But if the "Daily Worker" was cut to four pages it might be necessary to review our whole setup with regard to the "Daily Worker", "The Worker" and other publications. He agreed that a reorganization of the Party's dues system was a long needed matter and said that this would be done as soon as the national organizational setup could work something out. He indicated that it would be a simpler dues system of \$.50, \$1.00, \$2.00 and a small amount for housewives, unemployed

and students, instead of the present complicated dues system which is based upon the amount of a member's earnings.

Stein asked for a unanimous vote in support of this report. He said he understood that a number of members might disagree on one or another aspect of the report, but that he was submitting the report in its totality and asking it be approved and adopted as the line of procedure and policy between now and the next meeting.

I am omitting many items and references made by Stein in this report because they were made in the previous meeting of the National Executive Committee which has been earlier reported upon, and the content is about the same.

After Stein finished, Jack Stachel made his supplemental report on the "Daily Worker". He spoke also about an hour and fifteen minutes.

About fifteen minutes of this time was all he devoted to the "Daily Worker". The remainder was a speech on his own account. The nature of his speech was one summarizing and reviewing what other people had said, and not too much importance can be attached to his remarks up to this point.

On the "Daily Worker" he reported upon the work of the subcommittee which had been appointed at the meeting of the National Committee three months ago, to serve as the control and political leadership within the paper. This committee consisted of Stachel, Gates, and Gerson. The committee was supposed to be the inside control and boss of the policies and operation of the paper. It was set up by the April National Committee meeting as an instrument to avoid the troubles which were going on in the paper and which occupied most of the April meeting of the National Committee.

This committee had been particularly charged with controlling the independent expressions and columns of the foreign editor Joe Clark. It was especially charged also to correct a trend which Stachel's report of that time emphasized, of neglecting or underplaying news and information on articles about the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies which the Foster group had charged was the deliberate effort and policy of Gates toward developing an anti-Soviet policy by the paper. Since the April plenum of the National Committee this situation has gone from bad to worse. Clark has continued to write as he pleases and as earlier reported around this matter has arisen a new and much sharper internal factional war between the Foster group on the one hand and Gates on the other.

Stachel was supposed to report then how and why this all came about and why this committee did not perform its responsibilities. In reporting for the committee, Stachel said that since the last meeting of the National Committee, this editorial committee had functioned and had carried out a lot of its assigned responsibilities. Everyone knew that this was a deception because up to ten days prior to this meeting of the National Committee a report was made

that this Committee had not functioned at all since it was set up in April, and that there was utterly no control of editorial policy in the "Daily Worker." Stachel devoted a considerable time reporting on many essentials, such as reviewing the editorial content of the paper in the last three months, and mentioning how many articles and editorials and items have been published with respect to given subjects and areas of important policies, like on labor, Negro people, Soviet Union, farmers, and the like. The National Committee members were waiting for Stachel to get around to discussing what was known to be the serious and controversial question of why the Committee had not functioned and why Clark was eager to continue to write as he pleased and in a way which was construed as anti-Soviet, hostile to the Soviet Union, and in violation or at variance with the line of the 16th National Convention. Everyone in the meeting knew the politics behind this matter and when Stachel was weaving in and out and cautiously approaching the subject the reasons were known to all the members. He did not report that the Committee had not functioned and that there was no consultation between himself and Gates on the paper and that the control set

up three months earlier had not functioned. He tended to give the impression that the Committee was doing well, that it was improving the content of the paper, but that unhappily from time to time an accident occurred here and there, and in the area of an accident he commenced to discuss the recent articles of Clark which had occasioned a tremendous outburst inside the Party. He ascribed the appearance of these articles to the existence of a difficult situation which still exists, and implied that it would be necessary to handle this situation with care and circumspection. What he was discussing were the demands being made for the discharge of Clark, and in face of these demands the attitude of Gates who also said that if Clark was discharged he, too, would resign. At the same time a number of other writers on the "Daily Worker" were prepared to quit in an ostentatious manner if Clark was discharged. Stachel did not wish to speak of this subject directly and openly but characteristic of his smooth and subtle fashion of doing things weaved around the matter. He said that everyone realized there was a delicate problem at hand

and there was a dispute as to the best way to handle it. He thought that it was not correct to handle it in a precipitated manner, that is by discharging Clark. He thought that it would be better to carry out a line whereby all columns written by columnists on the paper, which up to now have been free of editorial correction, would now be placed in the same category as editorials. If all columns are to be placed in such a category they require editorial examination and approval for publication by the Editorial Committee, as reflecting the specific viewpoint of the paper. Stachel thought that this would control not only Clark, or any other columnist on the paper as well, once they do this, and they have decided to do so within the last few days. He let it be known that he was opposed to the discharge of Clark, not because he agreed with Clark's position, but because of the chain reaction this charge might set into motion. He was speaking primarily with regard to Gates. Gates although also disagreeing with Clark reacts to the attacks made by Foster by threatening to resign from the paper for he charges that Foster

is interested in driving everyone out of the Party, with whom he disagrees. Gates believes that Clark has the right to write in a column what he wishes under the general principle of the right to dissent. He argues that Clark's viewpoint need not be considered the attitude of the Party, but that it is wrong and criminal for the Communist Party to establish the right to dissent at its National Convention and then when someone exercises this right to dissent he is discharged and driven out of the movement. This is the essence of the quarrel between Foster and Gates with respect to the "Daily Worker" and Clark. This is the problem Stachel was weaving around trying to dispose of Clark and yet in a way as will not create a condition where Gates would demonstratively resign from the paper and possibly from the Party. In addition to his proposal to make columnists subject to editorial approval, Stachel proposed a general motion, that the National Committee instruct the National Executive Committee and its Editorial Committee to immediately undertake measures to reorganize the personnel of the "Daily Worker," in such a way as it is possible to do so without any big trouble.

It was a vague motion, Stachel presumed everyone knew what it meant that the Committee be given the authority but that they do it in the best way and at the best time they think proper. It was this motion which occasioned later most of the dispute in the meeting, between those who were for a go-easy method to get rid of Clark and those of the Foster group who wanted to clean the "Daily Worker" out, come what may.

Following the reports by Stein and the sub report by Stachel a large number of National Committee members were given the floor for ten minute remarks. The general attitude of these speakers took three directions. One group, such as Loman, MacAdory, Foster, Blum and perhaps one or two more followed the Foster line which I will mention directly. Other speakers like Stone, Nelson, Chancey, Krichmarek, Luman, West, Albertson, Russo, Taylor, supported the viewpoint laid out by Stein, something in the form of a middle viewpoint. The third viewpoint was reflected by Gates alone. Among the first to speak was Foster. He spoke about twenty minutes. His demeanor was extremely angry and table-pounding. He gave no attitude of wishing to compromise on anything. He

made the same type of speech which he has made at practically every meeting since the National Convention. He cursed very frequently and at many points in his remarks was actually yelling. He said the main thing he liked about Stein's report was that for the first time since the Convention an emphasis has been placed upon the need of building the Communist Party. He said that any trouble in the Party since the Convention has been precisely over this matter. He charged that in his belief many people were out to wreck the Party, and that that was the source and origin of his struggle inside the Party all this time. He placed all these so called opponents in the camp of objecting to the decisions of the Convention which he presumably is in favor of. He violently objected to what he called the campaign of slander and downgrading of the Party by many of its leading people. He demanded to know how could we build the Party and re-establish it if the leaders of the Party made it their business to persistently slander and downgrade it before the masses and in public. He insisted that the Party made some mistakes, but not of such a nature as to be dragged through the mud. He went back over the

years and selected various campaigns such as the Scottsboro case to prove that the Communist Party made great contributions to the people of this country and need not be so besmirched. He charged that a large number of people and particularly John Gates was interested in destroying the Party and substituting for it with a new Socialist type of organization. He gave what he considered a number of examples of quotations made by various people, articles and clippings from the "Daily Worker" tending to besmirch, downgrade and under emphasize the role of the Party. He launched a bitter attack upon Clark, the foreign editor of the paper. He argued that Clark was permitted to do this and stay where he is only because those superior to him permit him to do so, and find his activities not wrong. He called for the removal not only of Clark, but of Gates as well, and said that while he considered Gates a fine comrade and one who has made many contributions to the Party and had a high integrity he does not agree that Gates is competent to run this paper and should be taken off. He said that under the editorship of Gates the "Daily Worker"

is a Tower of Babel. It has no given, single unified line of policy. What it says in one column is negated and argued against by someone in the next column, and that as far as he is concerned the "Daily Worker" must present one unified policy in view to the people of the country or those who read it. He attacked Gates violently for permitting a review in the "Daily Worker" by Robert Friedman or the recent book by Herbert Aptheker, "The Truth About Hungary." The Friedman review attacked the Aptheker book and criticized the Soviet Union for its intervention in Hungary and made similar anti-Soviet references. Foster attacked Gates for using the "Daily Worker" to coddle deserters, like Howard Fast, Joseph Starobin and others instead of sharply attacking them and answering them. He accused Gates of not understanding the aggressive role of American imperialism and the aims of imperialism throughout the world, and argued that it was therefore impossible for the "Daily Worker" to lead an effective exposure and attack against imperialism when its own editor knew very little about it. He called for a cleaning out of the "Daily Worker" and an absolute

adherence to the decisions of the 16th Convention and he called for immediate action upon the question of Clark, and although he said he had certain differences with sections of Stein's report, he would vote for it as a whole primarily because it was based upon the viewpoint of the need to immediately reconstruct and build the Party on a Marxist-Leninist, Communist basis. Gates asked for the floor, and said that he was not interested in receiving ten minutes speaking time. He said that at the National Convention he received only five minutes, at the New York State Convention he received none, and at the April meeting of the National Committee he received five minutes. He said that for one who has been under such vicious attack and slander for more than a year he considers that ten minutes time given already and ten minutes promised now to explain his position was inadequate and he did not want to try to speak on such a basis. He said he wished to tell this meeting his exact thinking and exact feeling and he wished that he would have time sufficient to do it, because what we are talking about is "a matter which may affect my future relationship to this movement." The vehemence with which Gates made his remarks

at this point and the implied threat of quitting created a very sobering effect in the meeting, and the National Committee members appeared to realize that they were dealing with a delicate and tense problem.

Carl Winter arose and proposed that Gates be given all the time he wishes. Winter said that he realizes the agenda is crowded and a lot of people wish to speak on many things but that he believed that this is one of the matters for which we have gathered, and we should not disband until and unless it is fully clarified. He agreed that Gates has not had proper time up to now and repeated his demand that Gates get as much time as Gates wished to have. A motion was adopted to give Gates 30 minutes. When Gates finally was through he had spoken about 40 minutes. When Gates took the floor he was violently angry, particularly at the remarks made just previously by Manny Blum of Indiana. Blum picked up Foster's assertion that Gates did not understand the role of American imperialism and therefore, was rather soft in his treatment towards imperialism. Gates opened up his speech by saying that he wished to say something to

Mr. Blum. He said "I will not call this character a comrade because he and I have nothing in common." He said that "when this character tells this meeting that I am pro-Imperialist and pro-Fascist, I do not only want to speak to him but I feel inclined to spit in his face." He dared Blum to stand up and match their record of service and sacrifice in the labor and Communist movement, and he deplored that a character like Blum should be a member of the high policy committee of the Communist Party. From there he went on to speak about the "Daily Worker" and the charges on Foster. He charged Foster with trying to drive out of the Communist Party anybody who did not agree with every item which Foster laid down. He accused Foster of doing more damage to the Party than anything or any person elsewhere in the country. He was particularly incensed over the continued fight being made by Foster against those elements in the Party who had previously favored the setting up of a political association instead of the Party. Gates said this was the case long ago. It had been settled and forgotten, excepting that Foster will never forget it, and he is determined to get everyone who favored such a point of view.

He derided Foster's argument and attitude of saving the Party from revisionists and anti-Leninists, and said that Foster was responsible for more members being discouraged and disgusted and leaving the Party than any other single factor, and that Foster is particularly out to get him, Gates, because he has expressed himself as he thought best, as he thought independently and as he thought sincerely, that Foster has the attitude of not permitting anyone to speak the way they see things but the way acceptable to Foster. Gates charged that this intolerance by Foster and Foster's followers had the effect of depressing initiative and discouraging criticism and making people angry to the point where they became disgusted and finally dropped out.

In talking of the "Daily Worker" he spoke along the lines of which we are now familiar. He said he disagrees with the attitude and the point of view that Clark puts forth, but that he is fundamentally opposed to doing a job on Clark because he speaks and thinks independently. He said he considers Joe Clark an old and valued party member, one in whom the Party has placed a considerable investment in time, teaching

and experience and that he does not think that a member of 20 years standing who has worked so hard and loyally as Clark should be annihilated and driven out of the movement as an enemy as Foster insists.

While disagreeing with Clark's attitude and viewpoint he believes that there are other and more proper methods of solving this kind of a dispute. He disagrees with Foster also he said because of the question of the right to dissent. He spoke at length about the discussion in the Party and the decision of the Convention, which established the right to dissent, as compared to the previous monolithic bureaucratic setup where all members were obligated to think and speak as one. He pointed out that if the convention adopted this we are on record before the country and the people, and that it will not add to the prestige or the status of the Party, if the Party demonstrates to the country that its adopted right to dissent was mere words and just a fiction. He protested the attitude of Foster and Foster's followers and stated that if this type of a situation continued he wishes to tell the meeting frankly that he cannot serve upon this paper any further and that he is ready at a

moment's notice to step out. He has fundamental disagreements with this whole situation and while he endorses and goes along with the National Convention he believes that there are things happening which compel him to make these kind of statements. He does not propose to continue it much further, he is ready now to resign and so on. He said the proof of the pudding is in the figures read by Stein. He said in his opinion the Party is slowly dying and it is dying because there is in operation a lot of policies and factors which can only result in it being completely wiped out. In his mind this is more important than any kind of Leftist speech by Foster. He challenged the figures read by Stein as being inflated and said in his opinion they were several thousand under the ten thousand mark, and in proof of the correctness of his beliefs and his feelings and his opinions this will go on and on unless it is drastically and immediately changed. Therefore the events that have happened rather than making him believe he was wrong tend only the more strongly to confirm in his mind that he is right, and rightness in this case is that the Party must move

in a totally different direction. He emphasized in closing that he wishes this to end, he does not wish to continue this quarrel any further and that if necessary he will take the initiative in having it end by resigning. But he cannot continue to work on this paper unless he has the confidence of the Party leadership, and at the present time he not only has no confidence but is the victim of a vicious, constant attack of slander and downgrading. He closed his remarks by saying he does not intend to put up with it. After the speech of Foster and Gates, followed the efforts of other speakers to discuss matters in the Stein report from the viewpoint of reconstructing the Party and looking at matters objectively or suggesting measures to best proceed. It was impossible to do so because of the charged atmosphere in the meeting. A number of speakers took the floor and apparently realizing the delicacy of the implied threat by Gates took the tack of speaking to him gently and trying to convince him to stay. Only one or two people spoke very sharply and accused him of blackmail and trying to hold a gun at the head of the Party. The general trend and tendency was to treat him

gently and try to pass the matter over. Even Blum took the floor and tried to correct his remarks and tell Gates that he has no such thoughts about him at all, but it did little good. Ben Davis did not speak at length but proposed a counter motion to that of Stachel. The motion Davis made was to the National Committee to instruct the National Executive Committee to immediately reorganize the personnel of the "Daily Worker" and to immediately remove Clark as Foreign Editor and transfer him to another post on the paper. For most of the remainder of the meeting the following speakers addressed themselves to one or another of these motions. The five or six constant followers of Foster of course supported the Davis proposal, but in addition to that there were probably 12 others who normally do not follow Foster who were sympathetic to clearing out the "Daily Worker" and removing Clark. The other group of speakers supported the proposal made by Stachel, the intent of which is to do this but proceed in a careful and cautious fashion, to perform it.

8/13/57

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-32208)
SUBJECT: CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

CINAL

On 8/13/57, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA HARRY C. HELK that an affair in honor of PETTIS PERRY was held on 8/9/57, at 2119 North Natrona Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Informant said that approximately 17 persons were present and the affair was mostly social in nature. However, PETTIS PERRY made a short speech. In his talk PERRY said that the CP must be rejuvenated by a campaign to increase membership. He said that the Party must try to win back former members but must try even harder to bring in "new blood." b7D

PERRY is National CP leader, recently released from prison following completion of Smith Act sentence.

HENNICH

3 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
2 - New York (RM)
 (1 - CPUSA - MEMBERSHIP)
 (1 - PETTIS PERRY)
3 - Philadelphia (1 - 100-32208)
 (1 - 100-42205 sub A - CINAL, LIBRARY)
 (1 - [redacted])

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(8)

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 13 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

J. H. [Signature]
Walter [Signature]

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) DATE: 8/9/57

FROM : SAC, PORTLAND (100-3952-Sub 14)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
IS-C

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU UNLESS IT IS SUITABLY PARAPHRASED AND THE INFORMANT'S IDENTITY SHOULD NOT BE DISCLOSED THROUGH ANY LOCALITY OR ACTIVITY. CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THE INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT. THE BUREAU HAS INSTRUCTED THAT, IN SUBMITTING EXTENSIVE INFORMATION IN REPORT FORM, MATERIAL FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] IT MAY BE DESIRABLE TO USE TWO OR MORE SYMBOL NUMBERS. BUREAU AUTHORITY, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE REQUESTED BEFORE SUCH IS DONE.

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(NOTE: In reporting on the National Committee (NC) meeting, informant pointed out that the acoustics in the Yugoslav Hall were very poor, and the public address system in use was ineffective with the result that it was most difficult to understand the speakers. Informant advised 8/1/57 that the inability of NC members to understand the speakers was widespread and resulted in much confusion and talking among NC members which further contributed to the difficulty in comprehending. Many NC members complained of their inability to understand speakers and requested that they be provided transcripts of the talks. Because of adverse conditions above mentioned, informant pointed out that informant was unable to report on a number of the speeches in detail, and in some instances where the talks were brief the line of thought being expressed was unintelligible.)

5-Bureau (100-3-69) (AM) (RM)
 1-Chicago (RM)
 100- (CP, USA, ORG.)
 1-Knoxville (RM)
 100- (MARY _____)
 2-Los Angeles (RM)
 1-100- (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 1-100- (BEN DOBBS)
 1-Memphis (RM)
 100- (MARY _____)

JAB:jdt (COPIES CON'T ON PAGE TWO)
 (31)

100-80638-202

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 14 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

NY

PD 100-3952-Sub 14

COPIES CON'T:

17-New York (AM) (RM)
1-100-80641 (CP, USA, ORG.)
1-100-13923 [REDACTED] (#19)
1-100-[REDACTED]
1-100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19)
1-100-(DOMESTIC ADM. ISSUES)
1-100-(CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP)
1-100-(WOMEN'S MATTERS)
1-100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)
1-100-(NEGRO QUESTION)
1-100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
1-100-92763 (PETTIS FERRY) (#7-6)
1-100-50090 (SID STEIN) (#19)
1-100-89816 (FRED FINE) (#19)
1-100-(LABOR MATTERS)
1-100-(FACTIONALISM)
1-100-(CP, ORG.--NY STATE)
1-100-(MARCH ON WASHINGTON)
1-Seattle (RM)
100-127 (BURT GALE NELSON)
3-Portland
1-100-3952-Sub 14 (CP, USA, ORG.)
1-[REDACTED]
1-100-9513 (C. JONES)

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| <u>Source</u> | <u>Received</u> | <u>Agent</u> | <u>Location</u> |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| [REDACTED] | 8/5/57 SA | [REDACTED] | [REDACTED] |

On the morning of 7/27/57 informant upon reporting at the CP National Headquarters at 23 W. 26th Street, contacted [REDACTED] who stated that fifteen people had already left to attend the NC meeting. Informant noted that efforts to enter the building earlier were unsuccessful, and the door was locked although [REDACTED] claimed he had been there since 9:30 a.m. He further commented that a number of people had not shown up as yet. According to informant, a Negro man who [REDACTED] called [REDACTED] (not to be confused with another Negro referred to as [REDACTED] in attendance at the NC meeting) was with [REDACTED]

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[redacted] PD 305-S orally advised SAs WILLIAM SAMUEL BROWN and [redacted] on 8/7/57 that the Negro referred to above as [redacted] is described as follows:

| | |
|------------|---|
| Age | Late 30's or early 40's |
| Height | About 5'10" |
| Build | Medium, well proportioned, broad shouldered |
| Race | Negro |
| Complexion | Medium brown |
| Hair | Black, wore a cap |
| Occupation | Appeared to be an employee at the National Office, not observed at the NC meeting |

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Shortly after informant contacted [redacted] he received a telephone call in which discussion was had as to the whereabouts of some object. Upon hanging up the receiver, [redacted] was profane in his comments concerning someone who had left his "report" at the National Office. He instructed [redacted] to remain there and stated that he and the informant would bring the material over to the meeting. He left the office and returned from the floor above a short time later carrying a well-filled brief case and other material in a large envelope. He then picked up a suit case and with the informant carrying the envelope and [redacted] the other material, they took a cab to the NC meeting where EUGENE DENNIS was in the process of speaking and DOROTHY HEALEY was acting chairman. Informant reported that DENNIS at the time was discussing the "A" and "H" bombs.

Informant summarized DENNIS' remarks as follows:

1. That the problem locally and in the states was the reaching of state legislatures and Congress to abolish the testing of the bombs and that it was necessary that a wider expression of public opinion be obtained concerning the "A" and "H" bombs.
2. That women's organizations were not sufficiently mobilized in this direction such as the PTA groups, churches, and others.

3. That a mass organizing of Negro organizations was needed.
4. That the AFL-CIO was disinclined to take a position which, if taken, could be taken such as calling for reducing armament which would change taxes and would begin a change around the "A" and "H" bomb program.
5. He raised the question as to how to link more concretely the program for outlawing the "A" and "H" bombs. He pointed out that the fact should be noted that the Hague in 1925 demanded the outlawing of gas and other harmful chemicals used in warfare. He referred to political and mass activity in activating the Party through careful and helpful work in mass organizations. He made reference to the Quakers' program to extend and make possible a universal pledge to demand the outlawing of the "A" and "H" bombs. (Informant noted that much of DENNIS' remarks could not be heard due to the facilities in the hall).

After DENNIS' report, others presented their own ideas on peace and the work in their districts in various states along these lines. Informant noted that, while there was some critical comments as well as agreement, in general all agreed with DENNIS' entire report which was unanimously passed with the understanding it would be afforded wider publicity in printed form.

One speaker called for a study of a tabloid paper from Cal Tech Laboratory on mutation resulting from experiments on fruit flies and ants which paper had already caught the attention of Congress which is to take up the study of these experiments.

A speaker from Illinois referred to the peace question and urged that the people get busy on the program in the fall in the League of Women Voters with reference to the petition concerning cessation of the "A" and "H" bomb tests being promoted by the Quakers. He noted that this petition has now broken through in labor organizations. He noted it was

impossible to get on the programs of the League of Women Voters, but they should start to work now in an effort to get on their agenda.

Another speaker inquired as to what the Party was going to do with reference to the distribution of petitions and called for a deeper analysis on this question. He felt that more discussion was needed on Russia and the matter of peaceful co-existence as well as on the economy of disarmament, a factor which is undermining the economy of the United States. He urged the establishment of a commission to study such problems and urged the Party to ask for more petitions from the Quakers. It was pointed out that it was felt a tactical error was made when the Quakers had been asked for 150 petitions, that only 10 should be asked for. He pointed out, however, that a break through had been made and while there they had been accepted.

Another speaker referred to the matter of farmers being an issue in the next election. He wanted more news relating to farmers in relation to Civil Rights.

BEN DAVIS then spoke on Civil Rights--Negro rights. In his comments he referred to the role of the Party in New York. He made reference to some meeting which was to have been an open affair but turned out to be a closed meeting. He felt that the results of this meeting should be made available to the Party as a whole. Informant noted this matter was not sufficiently explained to be understood without knowledge of other facts. DAVIS expressed a desire for a closer watch between camps, believed to refer to the Negro people and the CP. He pointed out that ideas by the Negro people are welcome, that the Party can learn something from the pilgrimage (to Washington). He noted that the people who had participated in the pilgrimage overcame their inhibitions, that the CP had not placed them on the spot and the participants had not been recognized by the Negroes as Party members. He felt that similar action could be taken on the petition, that they should take note of mistakes and improve themselves, that they should see the role of science and political problems of the people. He noted that the Party has a political science of Marxist enlightenment which controls our destiny ideologically.

DAVIS suggested to the New York state CP that they have a commission to find a new basic way through which to bring Marxist thinking to the people. He commented that "we" are living in a new nuclear era which is a political question, and he called for the development of a peaceful role in the transition to Socialism.

[redacted] orally advised SAs BROWN and [redacted] 8/7/57 that many of the remarks of BEN DAVIS appeared to be directed towards the New York state CP which has been suffering from a great deal of internal strife and friction among its leaders.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER then spoke in which he indicated approval of the report of DENNIS. He stated that DENNIS' report was an important guide to action, to picture the role of American Imperialism in dominating the World. He agreed it was not enough to paint a picture and made some comment about changing peace forces were able to block continuing war dangers.

BEN DOBBS then spoke, noting that during the period of work on the petitions over 3,000 had signed in California. He suggested work in the club in a democratic way and called for a reprint of the speech of Dr. (ALBERT) SWEITZER. DOBBS noted that entire neighborhoods had been reached in connection with the petitions.

BURT NELSON also spoke briefly. However, according to informant, NELSON's comments could not be understood. He did make some reference to legality of building defeat in Washington (inferred to mean Washington State) of a program.

According to informant, after NELSON made his remarks he left the speaker's platform and proceeded directly to [redacted] the NC member from Oregon, with whom he then proceeded down the aisle to where PETTIS PERRY was seated and introduced her. Informant noted that other NC members seemed to be curious about this introduction. Informant noted that on another occasion during this session, SID STEIN, who was seated at the speaker's platform sent a note to [redacted] [redacted] Oregon NC member, which was read by some of the delegates as it was passed along. The note said, "How about this for a Party slogan--Fusion Not Fission". Informant noted that one of the speakers had made reference to this phrase in connection with discussion on "H" bomb tests.

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According to informant the report by DENNIS was passed unanimously and this concluded the morning session.

Informant had lunch with BURT NELSON in the basement of the building in which the meeting was held. During their lunch, they were joined at the table by a woman who asked if she could sit with them at which point NELSON introduced the woman as [redacted], stating that she was from the "South". She later commented that she had been sent to represent the South and that that was what she was doing. [redacted] orally advised SA [redacted] that [redacted] also later indicated that she was from Tennessee. The woman also indicated according to informant that [redacted] was not actually her name, although as noted above, NELSON in introducing her called her [redacted].)

At the afternoon session of the NC meeting on July 27, 1957, according to informant, SID STEIN gave his report in which he stated that this NC rises to the occasion with greater confidence and with full confidence of the leadership to point out the progress the Party made, which is important. He pointed out that there had been a meeting of the Farm, Foreign Affairs, and Educational Commissions. Informant noted he may have mentioned others which could not be understood. He noted that the members have been acting, thinking, and working and were impressed with the need to meet the issues and that they had considered the needs of the people. He stated that in the Party's inability to meet the issues, the workers fight for peace and press upon us and demand our attention.

According to STEIN, there has been much serious debate since April, 1956, to this time, that the problem was to find the best way to seek progress, unite ties with the people, and to work more effectively in peoples' organizations to settle controversy in the New York district mainly. He stated that discussion in the National Administrative Committee (NAC) called for the end of factions, that many comrades had sent letters to the NAC, calling for an end to the faction and presenting points of view agreed upon. He noted that many

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could not understand the confusion existing in some comrades. He pointed out, however, that there has never been any question of the CP but rather a question of how to face new problems. There likewise has been no question of basic theory, but there has been a question of how to use theory to break dogmatism and bureaucracy--a problem that has faced every CP all over the World and such as China faced in its reconstruction. He noted that the CP need not copy China but what the CP needs is to learn from the riches of these experiences; to continue to discuss Russia as the CP section. He stated that the American working class was the guiding line of the 16th National CP Convention, that the Party can and must end uncertainty, that the direction is clear, that to establish the CP main political line was the major issue underlining Marxist concepts.

STEIN pointed out that there has been and are differences of opinion, that the CP's task is to seek out and find answers and to develop in concrete form so as to stride forward. One of the tasks was to get a picture of the Party's continuing losses since the 16th National Convention, the question of Party functions, the form of organization. He noted that as unpleasant as it may seem "we" present the facts which were collected under great difficulty. He noted that these in themselves are a serious sign. He then cited statistics on membership for various states set out herein-after, the first column according to informant representing membership figures ten years previously and the latter column showing membership figures as of November, 1956.

| State | Membership (10 years ago) | Membership (November, 1956) |
|----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| New York | 8890 | 3500 |
| North Carolina | 387 | 150 |
| Eastern Pennsylvania | 600 | 400 |
| West Virginia | 120 | 85 |
| Ohio | 588 | 450 |
| Michigan | 411 | 350 |
| Illinois | 1000 | 600-700 |
| Minnesota | 272 | 172 (informant not positive of last total) |

(Membership list con't)

| State | Membership (10 years ago) | Membership (November, 1956) |
|------------|------------------------------|--|
| Washington | 350 | 200 |
| New Jersey | 750 | 700 |
| Wisconsin | 341 | 71 (informant uncertain of latter figure) |
| California | 4900 | 2000 |

Informant pointed out that there were other states whose membership figures were not given by STEIN, but he noted that the total loss in membership for the 10 year period up to November, 1956, was 17,000 and that the total CP membership now is 10,000. He noted that large numbers were workers in mass organizations and leaders in their districts. He referred to FRED FINE as having stated that those who thought they were dead are wrong, that they are alive and the CP does not judge by quantity, in 10's, 100's, or 1,000's, but those who are sitting on the fence--waiting, that SID STEIN had said in referring to their losses that hundreds of them were leaders in the Party in labor. STEIN pointed out that the losses were greater in those districts where the factionalism was greater and more active or acute to the extreme point of view, or where leaders had abdicated. Also, the losses were heavy where the leaders went too far at or following the NC. He noted that there also were those who concluded that the convention was meaningless. He stated that in the districts where they undertook to carry out the line presented at the convention they have stabilized. He further noted that some had departed from the Party prior to the convention, that some losses were due to the fact that the Party was unattractive, that they thought the Party was not a militant Marxist organization. Some said that not enough changes had taken place in the center or leadership. He stated that this, however, has been refuted by the committees which are deadset on dealing with factionalism--which had done more harm than the enemy. STEIN made reference to dealing not with the loss of one leader but rather with the loss of thousands.

STEIN stated that they must look deeper for the reasons for the losses, look to themselves and ask these questions: How well had they done in deed up to the morning of his talk. He noted that the question was to restore, that some gave many reasons why factions cannot meet the needs of the Party and why the Party cannot emerge as leaders in the working class of America. He stated there is a serious weakening of ideology, that the Party has made slow progress along lines of the 16th National Convention--on theoretical questions. The question posed was how does the CP build ideologically. Some say restore confidence in Socialism. He noted that a Marxist-Leninist foundation was indestructible and then raised the question as to why it had happened. He stated that confidence on a more rational basis was needed and that the CP was moving in that direction. He also made some reference to editorials going to the extreme. STEIN pointed out that monopoly enters the struggle for once again a more concrete re-examination of facts on a Marxist concept was necessary. He related the Educational Committee has suggested the reading of VICTOR PERLO's book, also the book by APTHICKER.

STEIN stated that most pressing was the need to recruit on a Marxist-Leninist basis to regain losses, that in seeking to outlaw the "A" and "H" bomb, under the Quaker movement, the CP can work in mixed sections. He referred to this move as not a fly-by-night thing but rather one which will be successful.

STEIN referred to the report by DENNIS, noting that the report pointed out the CP had learned from its mistakes and that a Party is needed. STEIN then raised the question as to what kind of a Party, adding that "we" have to show what kind of a Party. He noted that JIM CROW is mixed up in Civil Rights and noted that the manner of effecting integration is the task of the Marxist-Leninist Party. He pointed out the times had changed from the time of the SCOTTSBORO case to the MONTGOMERY (Alabama) case and that the answers to the questions were in the Marxist analysis.

According to STEIN, the Party's fight for its freedom is not over but has just begun. He stated that reactionary forces were to nullify the Supreme Court decision, that the Supreme Court decision was intended to fully restore not only the CP's American rights but also the Democratic rights to the Communists. He referred to the Party as being an American Communist Party which does provide a democratic foundation.

STEINER referred to isolation as not having been inherited and stated that they had faced up to the facts, that isolation was not easy to get out of but that a modest effort had been made and that the Party had already opened up as a result of the Pilgrimage.

In discussing means of building up the Party, STEIN advanced the idea of using the forces the Party has, not to underestimate the strength of those remaining for building up the Party. He declared the CP will recruit thousands and those members left will be remembered for their fight for the growth of the CP. He further urged that the Party's fight be directed to gain back those who had been lost through doubt. He urged the Party to increase membership by re-registering those individuals who had been weak. He noted that some had been lost through bitterness and bad relationship. These should be convinced, if not wholly at least partially, while in the process of fighting to rebuild the Party. He urged that the lost members be brought back in the clubs, cities and towns and if necessary to "get them over the hump". He noted that the danger is not getting them back.

In referring to the life and content of the CP clubs STEIN urged that the old members come in and discuss with new members, that larger clubs be considered, and that clubs meet together. He suggested that in order that all clubs did not do the same thing that they discuss questions of policy. In presenting these suggestions, STEIN saw a Marxist merging of a new non-Party of those who had dropped out because of restrictions. He noted there were those who did not become hostile by and large and that the Party's task to them was to prove to them by doing and saying--by taking a positive approach. He urged that there be ideological talks, that these individuals be propositioned and that the cards be placed on the table. He stated that many of these groups will be proud to come back and that the CP members should show them that the CP members are not crawling in a hole.

STEIN urged every NC member to take back to the districts the idea of working on the return to the CP of lost members. He stated the Party should change the method of its work and atmosphere in comradely fashion, that the Party

FD 100-3952-Sub 14

will be able to resolve its differences and better able to present the Marxist line which cannot be done in a bad atmosphere. He urged that the Party strike out bureaucracy. He also advocated giving the CP members the facts and proposed that they be given the facts interpreting the convention policy, based upon majority vote of the NC members. He urged greater unity in Negro and labor organizations; the creation of channels for friendly discussions and descent. He pointed out that articles in "Political Affairs" and sections of the "Daily Worker" create challenge. He pointed out, however, that such articles were not the thinking of the NC.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM United States Government

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

DATE: 8/12/57

On 7/10/57, [redacted]
NYC (protect identity), furnished to SAS ROBERT G. SWEENEY
and JOHN F. LANGTRY a brief case which he had found on 7/9/57
in a telephone booth in the Independent Subway station
at 23rd Street and Sixth Avenue, NYC.

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A review of the contents of the brief case
reflected that it belonged to SID STEIN (Organizational
Secretary, CP USA per CG 5824-S on 5/1/57).

Having been notified by the NYO of the location
of his brief case, SID STEIN and his attorney appeared at
the NYO of the FBI on 7/16/57 to claim the brief case.
STEIN was requested to sign a receipt for the contents
of the brief case and upon the completion of this receipt,
the brief case and its contents were returned to STEIN.

The above-mentioned receipt is maintained in
NY file 100-50090-1B. The original film is maintained in
NY file 100-50090-1B222.

2 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encs 1)(RM)

12-New York (100-18673) [redacted] (19-2)

{ 1 - 100-132443 (CP INDUSTRIAL DIVISION)) (12-16)
{ 1 - 100-26603 (CP, USA DISTRICT NUMBER 2)) (19-2)
{ 1 - 100-26603-C40 (BRONX COUNTY)) (12-10
{ 1 - 100-26603-C43 (KINGS COUNTY)) (12-11)
{ 1 - 100-26603-C41 (QUEENS COUNTY)) (12-13)
{ 1 - 100-52331 [redacted] (2-14)
{ 1 - 100-54555 [redacted] (12-14)
{ 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)) (19-1)
{ 1 - 100-50806 (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY)) (19-2)
(1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP)) (19-2)
(1 - 100-80641)

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| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 13 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Walter J. V. #19

NY 100-80641

Included in the contents of SID STEIN's brief case was a document entitled, "On Party Organization - George Watt," dated 6/22/57, copies of which are attached hereto.

On Party Organization - George Watt

Difficult question - will require serious probing to work out an approach.

1) Most critical situation in all phases of organization -

- a) breakdown of leadership, organization, education, etc.
- b) very serious losses of membership - Nobody can yet give a full estimate.

Will indicate answers he has gotten. This is the estimate from a few membership directors. Total Reg. '56 - 8800. Industrial 1500, out of 2100 in '56
 Bronx 200-250, " " 1100 " "
 Brooklyn - no figures
 Manhattan - no figures

There have been no club meetings in Brooklyn. Section membership meetings have been 15 - 20. In Brooklyn no contact with 7 sections. In Manhattan, no contact with 8 sections. 10 Section organizers in Brooklyn have resigned from posts of leadership. This is true in one or another extent in the other counties. Large portion of the membership remaining is not coming to meetings, boycotting, sitting on fence.

One section in Brooklyn is in another section of Party. Still in, but refuse to participate organizationally. Many of the losses are among comrades active in mass organizations like PTA. Those dropping out are mainly in the age level of 30 - 40's. Deterioration between Negro and white comrades. There are differences in estimate as to what brought this about. We will have to try to find agreement on this. Those who dropped away are not hostile - want to work with the Party but not within the Party.

Reasons -

- a) Isolation of the Party
- b) Oppression
- c) impact of 20th Congress and Hungary
- d) factional struggle
- e) views that the Party can no longer make a contribution.

Our main task is ideological. It cannot be approached in a routine manner. We can not just rebuild, we must revitalize. We start with those who are in - but we cannot rebuild without those who have left. We must be creative in winning back the many splendid comrades who have left. We must struggle to establish an atmosphere where comrades can feel free to discuss questions. More effective work to carry out decisions of the National Convention. Explanations why our Party is necessary not exhortation, but patient explanation.

Comrades must be convinced that we are making changes and at the same time convince what is valid in our basic theories and approaches. Establish Party organ where differing ~~the~~ points of view can be presented. Bold steps and ~~fast~~ flexible ones will have to be taken to win back members -

- a) broaden county leadership
- b) forms of organization that will provide bridges to the Party.

(Organizing committee of 6 in Queens section - had 95, now have 40. They are ~~going~~ fighting to win back the 55 - on basis of giving them a chance to decide in what club, etc. they could function.)

Realizes that club's organized on the basis of ideological affinity is dangerous, but we should try any form.

- c) Organize larger clubs and break out of our illegality -
- d) functional clubs should be re-examined.
- e) In one section in Bklyn - where a number of comrades did not want to be part of the section, the Section Committee agreed to put one comrade in charge of meeting with these comrades and organizing them in a separate club.
- f) Meetings at which Ben and George would speak.
- g) We must work with individuals and solve their problems - for example Sam Baron say's he won't work with Evalyn. We have to find another place where they can be active.
- h) Membership dir. put this question - ~~xxxxx~~ whom do we consider Party members? They feel that all those who are in and have not resigned should be considered members.
- i) Must have an approach to those that have resigned - We must work on the principle of Party keeping contact with these comrades - to the point of also keeping contact with such organized groups. Unless we have such an approach we will not solve the problem of keeping many who are still in. We should encourage discussion groups of all kinds of former Party members.

j) Party rebuilding campaign of a preliminary nature through summer months - Proceedings, Resolution, Dues.
- 2) Renewed effort on the Press.
- 3) Systematic survey of actual situation in the Party now that we have nuclei of leadership in all counties but Queens and the Bronx.
- 4) Party conference on organization early in Fall.
- 5) Review list of Party leaders to assign them to concrete rebuilding tasks.
- 6) 100 people from industrial to be assigned to help rebuild communities.

Ben -

Is opposed to report going in as is. There is one point in George's report which we all back - reconstructing the Party on basis of M-L. On how to do it, we have many differences. It requires thrashing out in staff. We would be remiss if we walk into State Board and have a free for all. Has a different approach to many questions raised by George.

Problems -

- 1) Building of ideological foundation - based on concrete examination of our country
- 2) Answering immediate points of dissatisfaction.
- 3) Conscious working out of the "how" to maintain and rebuild Party in period of differences.
- 4) What to do about large numbers who recently left - what forms?
- 5) New ~~think~~ thinking on forms of organization for socialist-minded people.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C
CINAL

DATE: 8/14/57

3 - Bureau (RM)
 (2-100-3-69) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION)
 (1-100-149163) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.)

51 - New York

1 - (100-23825) (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-92763) (PETTIS PERRY) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-18673) [REDACTED] (#19-2)
 1 - (100-50806) (GEORGE BLAKE CHARNEY) (#19-2)
 1 - (100-17923) (JOHN GATES) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-13473) (SI GERSON) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-16785) (JAMES E. JACKSON) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-9365) (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-23290) [REDACTED] (#19-2)
 1 - (100-79967) [REDACTED] (#11-1)
 1 - (100-63755) [REDACTED] (#9-2)
 1 - (100-24448) (LIL GATES) (#19-2)
 1 - (100-52959) [REDACTED] (#19-1)
 1 - (100-9364) (JIM FORD) (#12-16)
 1 - (100-25857) (PAUL ROBESON) (#12-16)
 1 - (100-18672) (MAX WEISS) (#19-2)
 1 - (100-20649) (ED STRONG) (#12-11)
 1 - (100-85936) [REDACTED] (#12-11)
 1 - (100-9308) [REDACTED] (#12-16)
 1 - (100-8057) (EUGENE DENNIS) (#19-1)
 1 - (100-99369) (ALAN LAWS) (#12-11)
 1 - (100-14347) (FERDINAND SMITH) (#7-6)
 1 - (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (#19-2)
 1 - (100-79025) [REDACTED] (#12-16)
 1 - (100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (#12-16)
 1 - (100-101849) [REDACTED] (#12-16)
 1 - (100-88395) [REDACTED] (#16-1)

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1 - (100-80641) (CP, USA-ORGANIZATION) (#19-1)

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J. Winters

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1 - (100-131666) SOUTHERN REGIONAL COMMITTEE) (#19-1)
1 - (100-26603) NY STATE CP) (#19-2)
1 - (100-) [REDACTED] (#19-2)

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NY 2031-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported on 8/5/57, PETE (PETTIS PERRY) contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR. at DAVIS' residence on that date. The following is a summary of the ensuing discussion by PERRY and DAVIS.

DAVIS said that in his opinion, the Party (CP) is changing very slowly and that the reason for this slowness is the terrific damage done to the Party during the whole discussion period after the Stalin revelations and prior to the setting up of the new leadership. DAVIS said that secondly, New York was the center of the factional struggle and the center of the forces that wanted the Political Action Association. He continued that New York was the center of bureaucracy in the Party; the main center of demoralization among the membership following the Stalin revelations; the main center of Negro-white tensions; the main center of paralysis which hit the Party during the 13 months during which it did not carry on any mass activity; the main center of the downgrading of Negro women cadre. DAVIS stated that this accounts for the fact that the Party here (New York) was hit harder and damaged worse than the Party in any other part of the country. He said that, consequently it will take time, patience, correct policy and a real struggle to win back the membership and an even greater struggle to tighten the Party as it now stands.

DAVIS stated there are some people who feel that they have no Party and that we will never have a Party until we get back every single one of the members.

DAVIS continued that he felt that the Negro Question is the question in the country today, superior to the Labor Question and superior to all other internal issues. DAVIS stated "As vital as that question is, the rehabilitation of the Party (in New York), which is over 50% of the membership which is the strongest, which is the largest Party organization in the country. And even more important because it's the key to the Negro Question; it's the key to the Labor Question in the Party, and unless this Party in New York can be rebuilt, then, in my opinion, the Party nationally is threatened."

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DAVIS told PERRY that these were the main reasons that he had come to New York. He said that there had been a lot of resistance to his coming by all of the previous leadership. He said that [redacted], GEORGE CHARNEY, JOHN GATES, SI GERSON did not want him. He said that all of the previous leaders who were leaders prior to the February convention (National Convention, CP, USA) - the national officers - most of them did not want him. DAVIS said that he decided to come anyway. He said that there were some in the National office who were willing for him to be anything, at any post, at any time -- including possibly the Chairman of the Party rather than his being in New York. (It is believed that DAVIS is referring here to the opposition he received in his bid to receive the post of Chairman of the New York District and that persons within the New York District would rather have him in a national post and have no say in the running of the affairs of the New York District).

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DAVIS continued that when he withdrew it was readily agreed to by the National Administrative Committee but still it had to be taken up by the N.A.C. and approved by the National Committee. DAVIS said that he recommended JACK (probably JAMES E. JACKSON) as he was the logical choice to be the head of the Worker's Party in the South.

DAVIS then told PERRY that in his opinion there were several things which are musts for the future of the Party. He stated "One, is the regular functioning commission where we decide questions.....and take up responsibility for political work. The second thing, the Negro Commission has got to pull together and establish an elective leadership. Thirdly, the Negro Commission must, in my opinion, reopen at once discussions on self-determination, organize and arrange a democratic discussion by the entire Party membership and thirdly hold a national conference to resolve this thing.....Fourthly, the Negro Commission....work out, the kind of work to concern the current struggle in the U.S. and in the South, in the North and so forth. Then it has to survey the Negro cadre all over the country and examine their traditions, their patterns, how they work and

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generally carry on an ideological campagin to revive the sharpness of the Party on the Negro Question and to carry on an educational and ideological campaign with white children and such.....and to find out how nationalism expresses itself.....and to try to recoup the Party's sensitivity on this question."

DAVIS said that during the last 3-5 years the power (ph) has been the struggle that was conducted against white chauvinism. This was a struggle.....at the same time it got infected with the sectarianism that's affected the Party and all its work. DAVIS said that, in his opinion, there were a number of sectarian distortions. He said "that was one period."

DAVIS continued "Then the next period was the reaction of the Party to it." He said this was symbolized more or less in BILL FOSTER's articles.... and then the Stalin revelations and the consciousness of the Party of the sectarianism that we had followed for a number of years. Then the taking advantage of it by militant and aggressive leadership in New York State and Nationally, who took advantage of the situation and tried to drive the Party away from the "Right", and this period was characterized by a complete letdown.....DAVIS continued that this (period) was characterized by [redacted] who was head of the District (New York District) at the time, GEORGE (CHARNEY) was still in prison although when he came out it did not make much difference.

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[redacted] took the position that too much emphasis had been given to the Negro Question by the Communist Party of this country. Secondly that the Negro comrades came into the Party with no more nationalism than white comrades came in with white chauvinism. Hence, the main thing in the Party is Negro Nationalism.

DAVIS said that when you consider that this view was executed and practiced by the head of the largest district in the Party and that this view was a part of the whole ideological baggage of JOHNNY GATES and his whole group, you can see

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what happened to the Party's position on the Negro Question. DAVIS said there has been a lack of understanding of this question and that after the above two periods were over, the Negro question became merely a chair question.

DAVIS said that, in his opinion, what has to be done now is the establishing of the third stage; which is, that the Negro question is a national question, an essential question, and that we have to find ways of correcting and building the theoretical position of the Party.

DAVIS stated that the present era of the Party and the "black belt" is going to need very serious consideration. He said he thought JACK (JAMES E. JACKSON) can make the greatest contribution to the Party.

DAVIS mentioned that one of the weaknesses and inadequacies of the Party is the leadership as a whole. He told PERRY that the leadership did not recognize the tremendous political responsibility that PERRY carries, particularly because never before in the history of the Party has a Negro comrade held such a top position as PERRY held..... DAVIS said he thought that the reason the leadership did not recognize PERRY is due to the fact that the whole Party both on questions of leadership and policy was completely disorganized, except for maybe two or three of the people during the recent period of the Stalin revelations and had it not been for the rank and file of the Party, a few comrades outside of New York and a precious, tiny, minority of the comrades of the New York leadership and two or three of those on the top level and, in the first place, BILL FOSTER, PERRY would not have had a Party to come back to.

DAVIS told PERRY that PERRY should have been the National Secretary of the Party and that the failure to recognize PERRY's contributions was a casualty of the general disorganization of the Party and the Party leadership. He told PERRY that there was a tendency during the whole period

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of discussion by the old NY State Commission - [redacted]
BEN DAVIS, (probably BEN DVOSIN), [redacted]

[redacted] LIL GATES, JOHN GATES - to make scapegoats of all the left deviations made by the Partyover the last period beginning when you and I were working together in the organization and continuing after I went to jail and you were the head of Negro work.

PERRY told DAVIS that since the day he came out (of prison) BILL FOSTER has been telling him (PETE) that he should have been the active general secretary of the Party.

DAVIS told PERRY that he has lauded PERRY as a top leader of the Party. DAVIS indicated there was a complete confidence in PERRY's ability, his contributions, etc., at the National Administrative Committee when it was decided to send PERRY out west.

PERRY then speaks of damage done to the Party and intimates that he wonders whether some of the people who took certain positions are not in a position tofurther weaken the Party. He said that he had seen enough of the Party "out there" (west coast) in the couple of months that he has been around.... a lot of damage. PERRY stated that he does not care if people say that we have waited too long and that he does not think that this means a suspension of activity as far as the Party is concerned on the Negro question.

PERRY then stated that he would like to raise the question with DAVIS about DAVIS and [redacted] which concerns PERRY very deeply. PERRY told DAVIS that the fact is that DAVIS is the Chairman of the New York State Committee and whether he was put there through the shrewdest maneuver or elected by the most democratic process is of no concern to PERRY.

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PERRY stated "they" think that you have to say that nothing in the American Party can compare to this - a Negro as Chairman of the State Committee. PERRY

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said that this is a phenomenon in the history of the American Party that just cannot be compared. He stated that the question of time is significant because there are other Negro communists who are chairmen - 1938---1934 --but on the condition ... that it appears to be an all out drive to eliminate PERRY stated that this places before us several things, one being the tremendous influence. The second thing is the tremendous responsibility because all the people that are openly and secretly fighting against..... set out objectively to sabotage the work hoping that after a year or two the Party is able to show little or no progress at all toward reconstruction. Then the campaign could start that..... Any kind of a thing like that would be a setback to us that would take us at least ten years to undo. It would be a tremendous setback... a hundred times worse off than if we would not have been able to elect you.

PERRY then told DAVIS that nothing was ever mentioned about him (apparently in the "Daily Worker"), except in the last few days prior to his getting out of prison. He stated however, that DAVIS was always before the public. PERRY stated that he thought that a re-evaluation had better be made on the status of JIM FORD over the last ten years and the effect of that status on the people. PERRY said that mistakes of this kind cannot be continued without paying. Therefore, the Party has a responsibility but will the Party arise to it. That's the first serious problem.

PERRY said that the next question that arises is should we, who are conscious and see what is happening, take such a stand. Therefore the first thing is to see what we can do for the Negro forces we have here in the District, some of them very strategically located.... the Negro liberation movement.... to see what can be done to strengthen the relationship of certain broad Negro movements with the labor movement or the Jewish movement. PERRY said that both DAVIS and [redacted] should become experts on these questions.

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They should be the ones to take..... as two men of position in the State as far as this is concerned...tremendous ties with top leadership. PERRY stated DAVIS is the bridge between the Negro people, "the rest of the whites to you", and thereby is responsible for much of the ...and much of the support the Negroes are getting generally from the whites.

PERRY continued that he did not think that "we" (the CP) would be immodest if it began to realize that they had made a contribution to this thing themselves. He said that "we" had a hand this whole struggle ... this whole business around [redacted] office, the whole Trenton Six trial, the Willoughby-Beech trialPERRY then mentioned the need to bring back together the united force presented by the Negro cadre who have dispersed.

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DAVIS then changed the subject and spoke about the Stalin revelations. He said that he supposed "it" had a very extraordinary and disproportionate effect upon the Party - the execution of those Jewish leaders in the Soviet Union. And the disproportion of the effect was due in great measure to the large predominance of the Jewish population in our Party in New York City. DAVIS said that it had some effect on the Party outside New York but nothing like it had in New York. The reason for this, according to DAVIS, was in part due to the fact that this became entwined with the whole point of view of the New York State leadership - it was to go overboard and to downgrade and to the Party too harsh. So this question became involved in factionalism, in ideological ignorance, and to some extent it became a political football. DAVIS said that a couple of things grew up out of this - nationalism, and it posed the Party's fundamental lack of understanding of this question.

DAVIS said that there is no greater champion and sensitive person on the Jewish Question than PAUL (possibly ROBESON). He said that during the whole 13 months of ...

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PAUL did not say a word except when he went to Washington to testify (possibly at passport hearings) and they asked him about Stalin... and the revelations. DAVIS stated "..... and we affirmed our friendship with the Soviet Union." DAVIS continued that PAUL has a brilliant and big Marxist mind - quite capable of making his own contribution. He stated that some of these forces in the Party of the Jewish have been demanding that PAUL speak out on the Jewish question. DAVIS said that these forces have been creating the impression that PAUL has abandoned the Jewish question and that these same forces have allowed many attacks upon DAVIS.

DAVIS continued that he felt that the situation in the Party is cooling down a little. He said that he felt that it is not possible politically to discuss the Jewish question in America without taking up the other two questions; namely the Israeli-Egyptian situation and the Soviet Union. DAVIS said that these two questions are the core of the relationship of the Party with the Jewish nationalist movement. He said that if you talk about the Jewish Question in this country, "they'll" ask you what your position is on the Israeli-Arab situation and your position on the Soviet Union.

DAVIS then mentioned the Negro question and its importance and fundamental connection with the working class with the Jewish question. He said that this, in part, has created some of the strain between the Negro element and the white element and particularly between the Negro element and the Jewish element. DAVIS said that is JOHNNY GATES and say "why in hell doesn't PAUL ROBESON speak up on the Jewish Question." DAVIS then complained that at the same time the "Daily Worker", the "Freiheit" and the other Jewish leaders in our Party are saying nothing about the struggle for PAUL's passport, which is one of the biggest single questions of the right to travel, of human rights and human beings in the whole world. DAVIS said "Then JOHNNY (GATES) got up and said before the board PAUL ROBESON has more effect than the whole American Communist Party." DAVIS said that he then had to speak

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and say "I'd like to explain that the American Party cannot develop one-half of one percent of its struggle for PAUL's right to travel as the whole British Party, the whole British working class, the whole Labor Party in Britain and the whole British masses, including people like [redacted] and others."

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DAVIS stated that the white comrades and particularly the Jewish leaders, who are most sensitive on the Jewish question, would make it tremendously easy for the Negro comrades if they would face up to the fact that they are white communists and that they can show chauvinism just like Gentiles or capitalists.

DAVIS said that one of the new roles of the Negro comrade, the Negro leader, both in and out of the Communist Party, is to champion the interests of the oppressed whites, the Jews, the Italians, French, and Germans, or any other kind.

DAVIS told PERRY that he and PERRY have to speak, not with a special feeling for the Negro people today, for after all the people is one of the majorities. He said that if you have a one world view of the Negro question and the question of Asia and Africa, it is necessary for us to champion the rights of the white minorities. He said that within the context of America - the Negro question is white chauvinism, which is the ideological oppression of the Negro.

DAVIS said that they could do serious damage if they just tried to thrust things down the throats of the Negro comrades, pressure them and insist on things being carried out without a certain understanding of what has been taking place. He stated that unfortunately the Negro comrade is not unaware of the Jewish comrade on Negro history.

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DAVIS then spoke of ED (STRONG). He told PERRY that 3 months before STRONG died, he and JACK (JAMES E. JACKSON) worked on STRONG telling him they could not afford the resignation of a veteran political...He said that STRONG nevertheless resigned from the National Committee. Apparently PERRY asks DAVIS who was behind this as DAVIS replied "JOHNNY (GATES) of course..... the National Board." DAVIS said that JOHNNY (GATES) entered a motion condemning STRONG for saying that the "Daily Worker" had been chauvinistic on an editorial which STRONG had written on the Israel-Egypt conflict and it was not until a week or 10 days later that the "Daily Worker" would say that Israel had attacked Egypt and that Israel was the aggressor. So STRONG pointed out that this was chauvinistic. DAVIS stated that he, STRONG and JOHNNY (GATES) were arguing this point one day at a board meeting and that he and STRONG had to leave. He stated that the next day the Board had passed a motion condemning ED for characterizing the position of the "Daily Worker". DAVIS said this happened without ED being there and without himself, the head of Negro work, being there. DAVIS said that this was too much for ED and as a result he submitted his resignation.

DAVIS stated that in the New York District, we (the leading Negroes) were never invited or even notified of meetings of the State Committee and "you can imagine, me in New York with my record - my relationship with the Negro masses as well as in the Party - being excluded from the State Committee - the entire leadership - JIM FORD, now dead, [redacted] ... all the leading Negro women....."

DAVIS continued that there is also an "ultra left" in the Party, which has been able to capture the thinking of a lot of our leading Negro... He stated that for a year and a half the Harlem Party was not even allowed to select its own leader. DAVIS said that when [redacted] was just crammed down their throats, when I became persona non grata because I fought for the right of the Party in Harlem to have its own leader and for the removal of [redacted] and not the down-

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grading transfer of [] - all of these things were done over a long period of time and under the worst possible conditions and it took a long time for the Negro comrades DAVIS stated that one of the reasons why the "ultra left" fell out with him, began to attack him, and practically read the riot act to him was because he was fighting for the for a principal position on the Party. He stated that GENE (DENNIS) and all of the rest of the leadership turned against him as a result of his position. DAVIS stated that there was not a single Negro comrade that did not violently attack him or JACK (JAMES E. JACKSON). He stated there were times when JOHNNY (GATES) and himself or JOHNNY and JACK (JACKSON) nearly came to blows and that these things are difficult to overcome. DAVIS said that these same forces were not saying a thing about the Negro Question but were hollering about Negro nationalism in the Party. He said that when they raised the Jewish question and raised it wrong and made a political football out of it and tried to utilize it for the purpose of capturing the leadership of the Party - 90% of which was Jewish - they thought for a long time because one thing that can be said about the Negro composition (of the Party) is that they and the industrial workers and the national groups were the cause of the g.. d... mess.... but they helped to save the Party - the Negro comrades, nationally, the industrial workers in the Party and the national groups the Russians, the Poles, the Yugoslavs.

DAVIS concluded by telling PERRY he agreed with him but he wanted PERRY to understand a little of the historical background and why it will take time to win over many of our Negro comrades from this "ultra left" position.

PERRY then told DAVIS he had had a little fill in on [] and [] last Friday.

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DAVIS said that [] is a wonderful guy with a wonderful potential and that [] also is a very He stated that [] "rides his position." [] is not

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playing enough of a role in giving political ... and in playing a political role in the leadership of the Party, in the leading bodies of the Party of which he is elected. For example - National Committee - [redacted] did not the way he should. DAVIS said he did not have any disagreement with sharpness in the way [redacted] acted or spoke on the question but that that kind of a role without getting up and giving over-all leadership to the Party is not good leadership. DAVIS said that it is especially necessary when a comrade identified with the so-called "left" must help the Party overcome dogmatism...

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DAVIS continued that [redacted] is still infected with a little factional look. He stated that the persecution and wrong ideas campaign against [redacted] has not ended but that [redacted] has to find new ways of fighting them. DAVIS stated that

[redacted] role, for example, is just to be defensive about himself, to raise questions in a non-political way, questions of finances, etc., to express general lack of confidence in the entire leadership and to react to things from the point of view of his beliefs. DAVIS said that such a role is not sufficient for [redacted]. He said that [redacted] is active in consideration of the political leadership of the Party, to speak on all questions, to act and speak in the name of the Party and in the interest of the Party and not just in the interest of comrades who were mistreated. DAVIS said that

[redacted] should speak in such a way that gives the impression that he is not concerned with the fate of the Party as a whole but concerned with a certain amount of wrong ideas concerning himself. DAVIS indicated that BILL FOSTER has a notion of the same thing.

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DAVIS continued speaking of [redacted] and said that he is very brave and courageous.... in the New York State leadership, but he hasn't grasped sufficiently the fact that we are in a new situation and the fight for the Party today has to be conducted in a quite different way than it was conducted prior to the last convention.... and prior to the in New York State.

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DAVIS changed the subject and stated that he had written an article in the "Daily Worker" in May on the and the Israeli question. He said that he tried to put the thing on its feet and tried to consider both sides of the question. DAVIS said the main issue there is the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialist domination for their independence. DAVIS said..... it's an independent nation - we do not share the anti-Semetic views of many of the

DAVIS then stated that the second question is the Puerto Rican question.

PERRY stated that what bothers him the most is the void on the question of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, in New York State and in the United States.. He said to begin to find a way to come forward in the leadership of the New York District and in other districts. PERRY then stated "I don't think that JOHNNY GATES can crack it - to put that record up against what they have not done on this question."

PERRY stated that "every single thing in the Party, in the main, 95% if not 99%..... not in favor of Russia but of"

PERRY indicated action must be taken to open the eyes of the comrades that feel we (the Negroes) are concerned only with the Negro question and that the Negro comrades are so narrow and so nationalist that they don't see beyond the Negro question. PERRY stated that this is of first rate importance in the presence of the present situation which they are now passing through.

PERRY stated that there are 600,000 Greeks in the United States and out and that when the Cypress question came on the agenda, they had, according to the papers, between two and three thousand people out there. PERRY said that Africa, however, which from one part or another had representatives six times since the beginning of 1955, while we did not have a delegation out.

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PERRY stated a new look must be given to the Negro liberation movement and mass struggle. He stated that no one will deny there is a deep feeling today for the Negroes in the United States.

PERRY stated he would like to see a small committee of two or three comrades set up to examine the whole west Texas (ph) question. He said he knew a little more about Mexico, Puerto Rico and Africa thanbut this is something we need, a tremendous help and over-all for both National and International.....

DAVIS stated that in order to take full advantage of the opportunities to involve a lot of these people in activity some organized leadership in connection with the Party is necessary. First, there should be a meeting of the National Negro Commission - organize its work and to acquaint the comrades with the setup. DAVIS said that this involved PERRY and JACK (JAMES JACKSON) and that he would continue to be a member of the National Negro Commission. And to set up a certain number of minimum committees which should be operating right away - one of these committees is the West Indies Commission. Now this is overdue. DAVIS said that he is in constant contact with FERDINAND SMITH; JIM (FORD) was in constant contact with.....; we have raised money for them; and he (FERDINAND SMITH) was very helpful to us in connection with the Party. DAVIS stated that SMITH however, has a number of big political topics there, questions of policy and perspective to direct the labor..... imperialism and British imperialism and related directly to the large population we have in Harlem and scattered throughout the country. DAVIS said that he felt that the work of the and the West Indies question at this time; but at the same time heighten the consciousness of the Party on this and do some special things based on the fact that we have such a large West Indian population in New York.

DAVIS said that he made a proposal for a small commission of some 9, 10 or 11 people including himself, PERRY, PAT (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON), JACK (JAMES JACKSON),

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[redacted] He said that a small commission should be set up right away for bringing a number of key cadre back into the Party. He stated that he would like to see this done on a national scale in the Negro work because there are a half dozen top people here (in NY) who are not doing anything. DAVIS indicated he would like to have a meeting of the National Negro Commission on Monday, 8/12/57, if possible. He said it would be important if they did nothing but organize the work and decide what the two or three key questions they desire to shoot at were.

DAVIS then told PERRY that the second thing is the rebuilding of the Harlem Party. He stated that there is no leader of the Party in Harlem. DAVIS stated that there are a number of good leading comrades. PAULIE (ROBESON, JR.)

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[redacted] but no leader - no one to take over the responsibilities of the Party and the functioning and holding together and the initiative of getting the Party back into mass activity.

DAVIS stated that the Harlem Party does have a secretariat - PAULIE (ROBESON, JR.) [redacted]

[redacted] - but of all or those people there is not one that will take over responsibility. He said that it is not so much that they won't take it, as they are not in a position to take it and that there is no organizer. DAVIS said that, in his opinion, insofar as the State is concerned, there must be at least one paid full time functionary in Harlem - that's necessary to the organization and the rebuilding of the Party in Harlem - but we haven't found that person. DAVIS commented that PAULIE (ROBESON, JR.) could have it, but at the present time feels it is wrong to make him a Party functionary. PERRY stated he had no ideas as to who might fill the bill as a functionary in the Harlem Party.

PERRY then mentioned that he has seen DOXIE (WILKERSON) more than most of the comrades and that he is a very sound comrade. He stated that DOXIE recently had told him

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that he was actually being bribed by people to lead the State and the County and that he could have had anything he wanted. PERRY said DOXIE told him they offered him all kinds of positions and he would have had to go after DAVIS and some other people.

DAVIS then told PERRY that this should drive deep in his mind the extent of the corruption and banditry of the Party and its leaders.

PERRY stated that he did not have any doubt about that and stated that his concern now is what can be done to take hold of the situation. He stated that the convention adopted a resolution which may have these same laws. PERRY said it would have been difficult but not impossible to make a stronger and more flexible resolution. He then commented "like some of the people I play ball with told FOSTER (WILLIAM Z.) that he's not for the resolution." PERRY stated he did not think that..... the point that he's (FOSTER) sick gave the impression that he wanted in the National Committee..... that was passed by the National Convention.

PERRY stated that the point is that you people were supposed to give the lesson and be an example. He stated he understood that this was a kind of coalition last March and that if that is true, then how does the present political and naturally people with incriminations based on their own past.

DAVIS said that he is opposed to political incriminations and that he feels that an atmosphere must be created in the Party where people can discuss things on their merit and where they get rid of sectarianism and dogmatism and..... and learn to welcome new ideas. DAVIS said that he is fighting to build the Party and carry out the decisions of the National Convention. He stated that many of the forces that were associated with the "right" are still opposed to the Party.

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PERRY stated that this might be true, however, he was going to let these people designate themselves by what they do and what they preach.

DAVIS agreed and stated that is why the fight all down the line on ideology, on the Leninist concept of organization, on Marxism-Leninism and so on down the line. DAVIS said that the fight does not require a fight based on previous decisions but a fight to see that the Party carries out its own line daily.

DAVIS and PERRY change the subject and DAVIS states that he thinks his (unknown) thinking is sound and his attitude is understandably sound. He stated that he was not at all sure that he was opposed to the idea that PERRY suggested which was that TED (possibly BASSETT) be the organizer of the Party in Harlem. DAVIS said that he felt that this question should be discussed with TED a possibility with the leading forces in the Party and with the Regional Committee of the Party. DAVIS said he was not opposed because there is nobody else right now. He stated that JOSH (LAWRENCE) won't take it and that he would be for JOSH - JESSE GRAY - there are a number of reasons why he should not take it. DAVIS said that he had offered it to [redacted] but she would not accept it so maybe TED is the best of the lot available.

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DAVIS and PERRY then discuss the possibility of having a biography written about JACK (JAMES JACKSON). PERRY stated that this would be one of the best dramatizations in story form about the Party nationally and internationally. He stated that he felt that it would give a new and deeper appreciation of their own forces - Negro and white - to have such a document. PERRY stated he had gone down and sounded out a publishing firm and stated he was told they would like to have a guarantee of a minimum of 2500 for the printing.

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PERRY indicated the New York District would assume the responsibility for a minimum of 700 and that [redacted] [redacted] was of the opinion that New York could do possibly even better and that he would be happy to have some discussion of the matter.

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PERRY stated that whoever is assigned to do this work has to have some experience, somebody like FAST (ph), DAVIS or (ABNER) BERRY and should sit down with JACKSON and discuss the thing.

PERRY stated that if they do have a meeting of the National Negro Commission he would like to get enough impressions as to whether such a thing is feasible inasmuch as when he gets to the west coast he wants to try to start doing something to build up the basis for the sale of the book.

PERRY then commented that LOUIS (probably BURNHAM) is prepared to do a book on ED (STRONG) which will be published by someone else.

DAVIS stated that he would like to see this done, the only question is how. He stated he is sure that the New York District would help financially providing it was taken to the National office. DAVIS said that he would like to explore broader possibilities and mentioned that "we do not have a treasure house of the Party's achievements."

DAVIS then stated that he is positive that the Party should have a magazine of some form and that, in fact, ED (STRONG) was working on this when he died.

DAVIS mentioned that maybe there should be some kind of a history to this thing which could interest a number of broader forces for the New York elections, which would be progressive and seek out the truth. DAVIS intimated that possibly there could be a number of pamphlets, booklets, books in connection with the struggle for Negro rights in this country over the last 30 years, the role of the Party.... confined pretty much to the Negro people.

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DAVIS said that one could consider it from the point of view of talking it over with the Association of Negro Life and History in Washington. (But which would also be interested in publishing books about leftwing Negro leaders including (W.E.B.) DU BOIS, PAUL (ROBESON), MARTIN LUTHER KING, JIM FORD a number of Negro in the trade union movement which are not being covered by the Association of Negro Life and History.) DAVIS said that he would like to see this idea kicked around collectively in the National Negro Commission.

DAVIS then stated his second idea would be that two separate books not be published - one on JIM (FORD) and one on ED (STRONG) - although both could be done. He suggested possibly one book "Heroes of the Negro Liberation Movement," which would be like a number of books he has seen published by the bourgeoisie which includes a book of collective biographies of important Negro leaders, which should be confined primarily to Communists who have died. DAVIS said that the National Negro Commission has the role of discussing these things, planning them, and seeing that they are carried out.

PERRY told DAVIS he had really enjoyed their conversation and that he had learned an awful lot. He stated he was surprised at the dishonesty that has been going on.

At this point the conversation ended, however, DAVIS remarked in response to a question that MAX WEISS is on the State Committee and State Board.

Due to the extreme sensitivity of NY 2031-S*, if the above information is utilized in an investigative report or disseminated outside the Bureau, it should be appropriately paraphrased to protect this informant.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)

8/8/57

SAC, CHICAGO (100-33742)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

FUNDS

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on July 30, 1957, made available to SA JOHN E. KEATING two copies of a mimeographed form which was prepared by the National Office of the Communist Party, USA. This form is being sent to all districts of the Communist Party, USA, so that the districts can use them as letters of transmittal with dues and assessments being sent to the National Office.

One copy of this form is being enclosed herewith to the Bureau and one photostat copy is being enclosed herewith for the New York Division. The Chicago copy is located in Chicago file 100-33742-1A1.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 1) (REGISTERED)
(2) - New York (Encls. 1) (REGISTERED)
(1-100-74560 CP, USA, FUNDS) (#19)
(1-100-80638 CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP) (#19)
3 - Chicago
(1-A/134-46
(1-100-17769 CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - FUNDS)

JEK:cjz
(7)

100-80638-1233

Jek

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (97-169)(#7-2) DATE: 8/20/57
FROM : SA DAVID RYAN, #19
SUBJECT: PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.
IS-C

Identity of source

[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)
"Daily Worker" and "Worker"
Staff mtg., 8/2/57

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Description of info

Date received

8/13/57

Received by

SA [redacted]

Original located

NY [redacted]

(written)

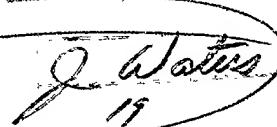
Any action taken as a result of data contained herein
should be extremely circumspect to protect the identity of
[redacted]

1 - Butte (100- JOHN HELLMAN)(RM)
1 - Los Angeles (100- DOROTHY HEALEY)(RM)
1 - Los Angeles [redacted] (RM)
1 - [redacted]
1 - NY 100-80641 (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)(#19-1)
1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA MEMBERSHIP(#19-1))
1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES)(#19-1)
1 - NY 100-13473 (SIMON W. GERSON)(#19-1)
1 - NY 100-86066 [redacted]
1 - NY 101-559 (JESUS COLON)(#19-1)
1 - NY 100-56835 [redacted]
1 - NY 100-13444 (JOE NORTH)(#7-4)
1 - NY 100-24638 (ABNER BERRY)(#12-16)
1 - NY 100-25623 [redacted]
1 - NY 100-83595 [redacted]
1 - NY 100-14859 [redacted]
1 - NY 100-21259 [redacted]

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(36)100-80638-7656
✓ ✓ 

NY 97-169

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| 1 - NY 100-5700 | [REDACTED] |
| 1 - NY 100-18065 | { JACK STACHEL) (#7-2) |
| 1 - NY 100-50090 | { SID STEIN) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-8057 | { EUGENE DENNIS) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-87211 | { CP, USA FACTIONALISM) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-81675 | { CP, USA PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-14606 | { JOE CLARK) (#12-11) |
| 1 - NY 100-13203 | [REDACTED] |
| 1 - NY 100-9352 | [REDACTED] |
| 1 - NY 100-13561 | [REDACTED] |
| 1 - NY 100-9365 | WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-52959 | [REDACTED] (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-9595 | WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-23825 | { BENJAMIN J. DAVIS) (#19-1) |
| 1 - NY 100-53177 | [REDACTED] (#12-14) |
| 1 - NY 100-94412 | (F & D PRINTING CO.) (#7-2) |
| 1 - NY 100-21 | ("MORNING FREIHEIT") (#7-2) |

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On Friday, August 2, 1957, from 10:30 to 2:20, at the office of the "Daily Worker," there was a meeting of the staff of the Daily and the Sunday "Workers."

Present: John Gates (Chairman), Si Gerson, [redacted]
[redacted] Jesus Colon, [redacted] Joe North [redacted]
Berry, [redacted] Abner [redacted]
[redacted] Jack Stachel.

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Si Gerson reported on the National Committee meeting of the previous week. He spoke briefly of Sid Stein's report on organization, and discussed briefly the drop in membership from 17,000 in 1956 to 10,000 in 1957. He said the drop in membership in some areas was as follows:

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| New York | 8,800, 3,500 to 4,000 |
| California | 3,000, 2,200 |
| New England | 350, 150 |
| Eastern Pennsylvania | 600, 450 |
| Illinois | 1,000, 600 to 700, etc. |

He said that a Party bulletin would publish excerpts from Sid's report very soon. (He mentioned that before Sid's report, Gene Dennis had read a report on the A-bomb campaign, but he did not discuss it.) In discussing Sid's report, Si said that there has emerged in the Party, two extreme tendencies. He said that the loss of membership has been from among all kinds of people, that those who left cannot be considered simply "summer soldiers." Included among those gone are Smith Act defendants, people in steel, people active in mass organizations. He asked why this should be so, and replied to his own question, that basically it is because they lost their ideological moorings. They lost faith in the Soviet Union and in the applicability of Marxism-Leninism in this country. The application of such policies as will strengthen our ties with the masses will win them back. He mentioned as present at the National Committee meeting, Dot Healey(D.O. of California).

Si said that as of August 1, columns in the "Daily Worker" are to be treated as editorials, and page four will

be regarded as a discussion page. He added that the Party bulletin would publish dissenting views. (He mentioned at this point the presence at the meeting of John Hellman of Montana.) He then read a statement he had issued replying to the attack on the Party by "Newsweek" in its July 8th issue.

Stachel mentioned in passing that on the day before the National Committee meeting, there had been a conference of all districts, with attorneys, to discuss Civil Liberties cases.

Si asked Jack Stachel to report on his report for the Publications Committee at the National Committee meeting. The report was essentially the same as that given at the previous staff meeting. A discussion followed.

[redacted] asked, "How could the Party consider an analysis of Joe Clark's columns more important than the Civil Rights issue at this point, and how could they spend so much time discussing Joe Clark's position when there was a sharp Civil Rights fight on in the country?"

Si announced that there are six staff members presently on vacation, Clark, [redacted] and three others. Also, that [redacted] is still ill, although it is likely he will be back next week.

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Stachel said that among those showing reservations in connection with Stachel's first report were Foster, Davis, [redacted] and a couple of others.

Stachel attempted to answer Signer's question. He said, "The Party is very active everywhere, considering its size." In passing, Stachel said, "Weinstone and Davis disassociated themselves from Foster's methods, while agreeing with his theory." Stachel also said that he had spent considerable time with Gates, helping him to get Clark not to resign.

Joe North said we must end this fight so that we can spend our efforts on the fights that the people are interested in. He said that he felt that Joe Clark could be transferred from his position without making it a big ideological fight.

[redacted] said that he had had a lengthy discussion with Joe Clark at his house [redacted] the night before (Thursday, August 1st). He said he disagreed with his method although he was not always in disagreement with his thinking.

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Stachel said that his reason for trying to dissuade Joe Clark from leaving was because he felt that immediately after resignation from the paper, he would "do something else within a couple of days."

[redacted] came in at this point and sat at the back of the room for the rest of the meeting.)

[redacted] said that she would not be in favor of anyone being removed, but if anyone was, Johnny was responsible, since he was the Editor.

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Jesus Colon said that he happened to belong to a "so-called professional group, which met Tuesday." He said that he would be opposed to shifting Clark to another job on the "Daily Worker" because that would not solve the real problem.

After some more general discussion, [redacted] said that Joe Clark was not actually foreign editor in the usual sense of the word, and that he felt there would be no harm done to shift him. Johnny Gates summed up and said that Joe Clark had wanted to quit a long time ago and he (John Gates) had kept him from leaving. He said, however, that the Party has not yet provided channels for dissent as it had promised months back.

It was voted to continue discussion as soon as there are printed copies of Sid's report available, so that everyone can read it in advance.

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[redacted] gave a report on the status of the "Worker" and the "Daily Worker." He said there is a deficit of a quarter of a million dollars, which has been accumulated over some years. He said that a four page paper could be put out at a budget of \$250,000, as opposed to the former price of \$420,000. He said an eight page paper would cost \$270,000, which would still save \$70,000. He added that a \$300,000 budget is unrealistic. That a \$250,000 budget is a maximum. It has been proposed to do a four page paper on a \$250,000 budget, either that or no daily at all. He said that the decision must be made immediately. He said immediate consideration must be given to the question of how and when to project this for public discussion, by Labor Day. Also, they must consider the number of the staff and its composition. It is projected that the weekend paper remain at 12 pages. The changeover must be made by October 1, 1957. A printing company on 16th Street has offered to do the printing and the present press will be disposed of as F&D sees fit. The "Freiheit" may have to be printed at the Brooklyn plant of the 16th Street press. The Hungarian paper is printed in the same building. We will try to get them to do our composing and we will try to find editorial offices close by.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (97-169) (#7-2) DATE: 8/20/57
FROM : SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS, INC.
IS-C

Identity of source

[redacted] who has furnished reliable info in past (conceal)

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Description of info

"Worker" and "Daily Worker"

Date received

Staff meg., 7/29/57

Received by

8/13/57

Original located

SA [redacted] (written)

Any action taken as a result of data contained herein
should be extremely circumspect to protect the identity of
[redacted]

A copy of informant's report is attached.

1 - Chicago (100- [redacted]) (RM)
1 - [redacted] (P&C) (#19)
1 - NY 100-80638 (CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP (#19-1))
1 - NY 100-81675 (CP, USA, PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
1 - NY 100-13473 (SIMON W. GERSON) (#19-2)
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-50090 (SID STEIN) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-17923 (JOHN GATES) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-9984 (AL BLUMBERG) (#19-2)
1 - NY 100-9352 ([redacted] (#7-2))
1 - NY 100-14606 (JOE CLARK) (#12-11)
1 - NY 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-79025 ([redacted] (#12-16))
1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJ. J. DAVIS) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100-21259 ([redacted] (#12-16))
1 - NY 100-62509 (DOXEY WILKERSON) (#19-1)
1 - NY 100- [redacted] (6)
1 - NY 100-8033 ([redacted] (#12-11))

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b7DDR:MIM
(20)J. Waters
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AFPC

On July 29, at 10:30 a.m., a general meeting of "The Worker" and "Daily Worker" staff was called by Si Gerson, who delivered a report, with the help of Jack Stachel, on the National Committee discussion of the press, which had taken place over the weekend. Before the press report Sy discussed Sid Stein's report on membership. He said that enrolled membership for last year was 17,500, but this year's membership is estimated at 10,000. The following breakdown was made:

| | 1956 | 1957 |
|----------------------|-------|----------------|
| New York | 8,800 | 3,500 to 4,000 |
| California | 2,900 | 2,200 |
| New England | 357 | 157 |
| Eastern Pennsylvania | 600 | 450 |
| Western Pennsylvania | ? | ? |
| Ohio | 588 | 450 |
| Michigan | 411 | 350 |
| Illinois | ? | ? |
| Minnesota | 272 | 200 |
| Washington State | 350 | 300 |
| New Jersey | 730 | 600 |
| Connecticut | 200 | 100 |
| Wisconsin | 165 | 125 |

He said that Stein said it is believed that despite the loss in membership the Party is alive and can be rebuilt. He said that the question of forms is the most depressing. He said that in California one group who were routed in mass organization dropped out of the Party, but want to associate with it in common causes. Sy said the main line of Stein's report was overwhelming adopted with only a couple of abstentions.

He then asked Jack Stachel to sum up his report. Stachel is a member of the Press Committee, which includes Johnny Gates, Jack Stachel, Sy Gerson, James Jackson, Al Blumberg, and [redacted]. Jack, however, spoke not for the Publication Committee but for himself. Stachel said it was agreed that the paper is reflecting the results of the implementation of the resolutions of the National Committee. There has been an improvement especially on foreign policy.

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It was noted that Comrade Gates played a leading part in this. The big difference of opinion was on Joe Clark. However, it was agreed that his is not just disagreement but that he has actually a different line from the Party.

It was also felt that there is insufficient material in the columns, and that the editorial policy should apply to the columns as well as to the rest of the paper. The following motions were made:

1. To approve the main line of the Stachel report and to note the progress made by the "Daily Worker" in carrying out the line proposed at the last meeting of the National Committee. In connection with the still-existing weaknesses, especially the foreign editor, the following:

1. To continue the ideological struggle on issues as presented in the last report.

2. To execute those proposals not yet executed, as suggested by the committee of six.

3. To call upon the NAC members to participate in writing for the paper.

4. In accordance with a memo drafted by Gates and Gerson in connection with treating columns as editorials, these should be submitted for approval.

5. Take whatever measures are necessary to see that there will always be full coverage of foreign policy.

6. An enabling motion, empowering the National Committee to take whatever measures are necessary to implement the NAC decisions.

Si said that after long discussion it was voted to adopt Jack's report, three voting against and Foster abstaining. Sy said he thought [redacted] and Davis had voted against and possibly Hellman but he didn't remember.

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Davis had then made a motion that with the reorganization of the staff a new assignment be given to Clark on the staff. This was defeated 27 to 12 with 6 abstentions. John Gates then said that to avoid rumors he wanted to report on a discussion he had. He said that he told the National Committee that if there is a vote to remove Clark, Gates would consider this a vote of no confidence in him and that he would resign. He said this was not meant as a threat or blackmail, but that he would resign and would take the issue to the Party.

Si said that he had reserved the right to submit a statement to answer "Newsweek's" July 8th attack on the Party.

There was brief mention of [redacted] memo with proposed suggestions to save the paper. He said that they were trying to make arrangements with an outside printer who could print the paper more cheaply than we do. He said if this happened the paper might be able to continue but that in any event the "Daily" would have to be four pages instead of eight.

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It was decided to hold a full meeting of the "Daily" and Sunday "Worker" staff on Friday, August 2 at 9:30, so that this report could be discussed in detail.

Other days worked at "The Worker" office were as follows:

July 19, 23, 24, 29, and 30, 1957.

Among those present on these days, in addition to the regular staff, were:

Doxey Wilkerson



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8/19/57

MEMO

TO: SAC, SAN DIEGO
FROM: SA EDWARD J. KIRBY
RE: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
CP - USA
IS - C

INFORMATION USED FROM THIS MEMO SHOULD BE CAREFULLY
PARAPHRASED TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

| SOURCE | ACTIVITY | DATE | AGENT | FILE # |
|------------|---|--------|--------------------|----------------|
| [redacted] | Meet. of So. Calif. District Council 8/4/57 | 8/5/57 | SA EDWARD J. KIRBY | [redacted] b7D |

"The Southern California District Council, CP, met on August 4, 1957 at the Park Manor in Los Angeles. Those recognized in attendance were:

RECOMMENDATION: Informants were thoroughly interviewed and advised they had no further info; all necessary action has been taken by the writer in connection with this memo.

100-741 CP, USA
cc: [redacted]

100-9433 HOWARD LOUKS
100-7161 CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
97-9 PW
100-6940 CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
100-11554 COUNTER INTELLIGENCE
100-6756 CP, USA, PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
100-6882 CP, USA, POLITICAL MATTERS
100-7419 CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION
100-7247 CP, USA, LABOR MATTERS
100-6764 CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
100-7465 NAT'L GROUP COMMISSIONS
100-6742 CP, USA, EDUCATION
100-6707 CP, USA, FUNDS
LA and NY copies cont'd next page:
EJK: mf
(57)

100-80638-1258

Waters

| | |
|-----------------|---------|
| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| 19/ AUG 26 1957 | |
| FBI — NEW YORK | |

Waters *SGC* *15*

Waters *SGC* *15*

~~Searched _____ Indexed _____
Serialized _____ Filed _____
FBI, SAN DIEGO
AUG. 19, 1957~~

SD 100-741

CC -24- LOS ANGELES (REGISTERED)

[REDACTED]
DOROTHY HEALEY
ROSE CHERNIN
[REDACTED]

PW
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE
CP, USA, POLITICAL MATTERS
CP, USA, LABOR MATTERS
NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSIONS
CP, USA, EDUCATION

[REDACTED] b6
b7C
DON
ELSIE
BEN DOBBS
FRANK
CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
CP, USA, PAMPHLETS & PUB.
CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
PETTIS PERRY
CP, USA, FUNDS

CC -17 NEW YORK (REGISTERED)

CP, USA
EUGENE DENNIS
JOHN GATES
DAILY WORKER
CP, USA, PAMPHLETS & PUB.
CP, USA, POLITICAL MATTERS
CP, USA, LABOR MATTERS
NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSIONS
SIDNEY STEIN

CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
WM. Z. FOSTER
JOSEPH CLARK
CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
BEN DAVIS
CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
PETTIS PERRY

SD 100-741

[REDACTED]
DOROTHY HEALEY
ROSE CHERNIN

[REDACTED]
BEN DOBBS

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"There were 43 people present.

"DOROTHY HEALEY made the announcements. She said tickets at \$15 each are for sale for a [REDACTED] testimonial dinner in honor of his 75th birthday; proceeds are for the benefit of the PW. The date and place were not given.

"HEALEY said that in view of the letter written by the factionalists, demanding a hearing, a sub-committee of 4 people had been appointed to hear them. The four appointed are DOROTHY HEALEY, [REDACTED] and a fourth person name unknown.

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[REDACTED] started off the National Committee report. He started off on EUGENE DENNIS' report. The theme of [REDACTED] report was the anti-monopoly coalition tied in with the stop the H Bomb program. He quoted at length from the report. He made the following five points from the report.

"1. There should be local and state activity in the anti-monopoly and stop the H Bomb program.

"2. Work within womens' organizations, particularly mothers.

"3. Work within Negro peoples' organizations

"4. Work within labor organizations, particularly those organizations where the leadership is anti H Bomb.

"5. Link all of this together in greater and broader organizational activity.

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[REDACTED] reported the Daily Worker is reducing its size to 4 pages because of financial difficulties. They are to job shop the printing.

"A resolution was made for the removal of JOSEPH CLARK from his position as foreign editor of the Daily Worker, because of the content of some of his articles. Some of the items in question were not quoted and documentation was not given at the National Committee.

SD 100-741

[redacted] reported BEN DAVIS, with the backing of the FOSTER group, spearheaded the effort against CLARK in the National Committee. JOHN GATES reportedly is backing CLARK to the extent that GATES said he would quit as editor of the Daily Worker if the resolution is carried.

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[redacted] raised the question as to why there is no criticism of the FOSTER group in the National Committee and only criticism of the right wing. He stated Factionalism is still evident in the National Committee. He further stated that PETTIS PERRY is moving to Los Angeles to live.

"BEN DOBBS spoke on the organizational report by STEIN. DOBBS reported the re-organization of the CP is not yet complete. He said there is more freedom of debate. DOBBS reported the question of the necessity of the CP arose. He said the leadership stated the CP definitely was needed, but that the CP must build and form a more effective organization. He continued, the FOSTER group proclaimed that this was what they had been calling for all along. DOBBS reported there is self criticism going on in the CP all over the world no matter what name is applied to it. He said there are two extremes in the CP, USA; one the dogmatic approach and two, those who lose perspective ie. the Hungarian situation and the 20th Congress.

"BEN DOBBS reported on the status of the CP. He reported that in 1956 New York had 8,800 members. In 1957 they have 3000 members. He gave the following additional figures which were obtained:

| State | 1956 <u>Membership</u> | 1957 <u>Membership</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| W. Pa. | 120 | 85 |
| Ohio | 588 | 450 |
| Ill. | 1000 | 650 |
| Minn. | | 200 |
| Wash. State | 350 | 300 |
| New Jersey | 730 | 600 |
| | 200 | 100 |
| Wisc. | 164 | 125 |
| Calif. | 2900 | 2200 |
| | 17,000 | 10,000 |

SD 100-741

"DOBBS said that the 1957 total is in doubt.

"DOBBS said there were 70,000 members in 1945.

"DOBBS urged that people not be dropped, but that special work be done with them and special meetings be held with them in search of areas of agreement with them in effort to retain them in the CP.

"DOBBS reported the Negro question will be taken up on a national level. In October or November, the Labor question will be taken up on the same level.

"DOBBS said a series of pamphlets are to be issued on educational topics, theoretical topics and current issues.

"DOBBS reported the PW Fund Drive has reached only 42% of its goal.

"DOBBS reported the FOSTER group was in opposition to the organizational report made by STEIN. DOBBS reported FOSTER commented the main danger is from the right.

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[redacted] reported two things were left out of the organizational report; one was the womens' question and the other was the youth question. CHARLENE said she voted against GATES and for the dropping of JOSEPH CLARK.

"DOROTHY HEALEY reported she voted with GATES in opposition to dropping JOSEPH CLARK.

"The final decision with respect to CLARK was never arrived at with respect to the reports made to the District Council.

"Healey reported she was more disturbed from this meeting than ever before because of the proposed action against JOSEPH CLARK. She said none of CLARK's columns were quoted and there was no word of documentation in the accusations against CLARK.

"HEALEY further reported she was disturbed about BEN DAVIS' article on the March on Washington. She stated he merely reported factually what occurred, but he failed as a National leader to point out the lessons learned from the March.

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"HEALEY said she was not in accord with GATES politically, but that she sided with him because free discussion is needed within the Party.

[redacted] the Educational Director, announced a meeting at Hungarian Hall of the Educational Directors, on September 6, 1957.

"The Negro sub-committee of the District Council is to meet at 5969 So. Figueroa, Los Angeles on August 16, 1957.

"The CP is to hold a re-registration in October 1957.

"The next meeting of the District Council is to be held Friday, September 13, 1957 at 7:30 p.m. The entire meeting is to be occupied with a discussion of the PW. "

FD-36 SAC
DIV. 1
DIV. 2
DIV. 3
~~RE~~ DIV. 4
SEC. 1
SEC. 2
SEC. 3
SEC. 4
SEC. 5
SEC. 6
SEC. 7
SEC. 8
SEC. 9
SEC. 10
SEC. 11
SEC. 12
SEC. 13
SEC. 14
SEC. 15
SEC. 16
SEC. 17
~~RE~~
~~RE~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
8/23/57
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI {100-3-69}
(100-3-68)

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE {100-12464}
(100-12170)

SUBJECT : CP, USA; ORGANIZATION; MEMBERSHIP
IS - C
C I N A L

Remyairtel 8/15/57.

On 8/22/57, [redacted] advised he learned following from GEORGE MEYERS, CP District Chairman:

The CP National Committee meeting which was originally scheduled for September 7-8, 1957 had been postponed to September 14-15, 1957. MEYERS was recently appointed to the National CP Organization Committee and instructed to attend a meeting of that committee on 9/13/57.

BROWN
END

6 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
3 - 100-3-69
3 - 100-3-68

② - New York (REGISTERED MAIL) (Info)
✓ - ORGANIZATION
✓ - MEMBERSHIP

2 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL) (Info)
1 - ORGANIZATION
1 - MEMBERSHIP

4 - Baltimore
1 - 100-12464
1 - 100-12170
1 - 100-19876
[redacted]

WMP:cm
(14)

100-80638-1259

Watres
8/15/57

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

J. V. Watres JDC

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Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SDT

• 8/22/57

MEMO

TO: SAC, SAN DIEGO
FROM: SA JOHN W. JONES
RE: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
CP, USA
IS - C

INFORMATION USED FROM THIS MEMO SHOULD BE CAREFULLY PARAPHRASED TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT.

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| SOURCE | ACTIVITY | DATE | AGENT | FILE # |
|--------|------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|--------|
| | District Council meeting 8/4/57 | 8/16/57 | SA JOHN W. JONES | |

"A meeting of the Southern California District Council of the Communist Party was held at the Park Manor Hotel August 4, 1957, 10:00 a.m. The meeting was listed in the directory in the hotel lobby as Mid-town Forum, Room #1, downstairs.

RECOMMENDATION: Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning this report and advised he had no additional information; all necessary action has been taken by the writer in connection with this memo.

100-741 SO. CALIF. DISTRICT, CP, USA

CCS

100-7503 CP, USA, UNITED NATIONS ORG.
100-4550 CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
100-7561 CP, USA, RELIGION
100-6756 CP, USA, LITERATURE
100-6742 CP, USA, EDUCATION
100-7024 CP, USA, LINE
100-6940 CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
100-6764 CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
100-6723 CP, USA, BRIEF

cc -4- San Francisco (REGISTERED) (Info.)

Copies Cont'd next page

JWJ: mf
(58)

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| APR 13 1957 | |
| FDL NEW YORK | |

~~Searched Indexed~~
~~Serialized Filed~~
FBI, SAN DIEGO
AUGUST 22, 1957

SD 100-741

Copies Cont'd:

cc: -18- New York (REGISTERED)

CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION
CP, USA, EDUCATION
CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
CP, USA, LINE
CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
CP, USA, BRIEF
CP, USA, RELIGION
CP, USA, INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

EUGENE DENNIS
JOE CLARK
JOHN GATES
DAVIS
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
PETTIS PERRY
BLUMBERG
DAILY WORKER
CP, USA, UNITED
NATIONS ORGANIZATION

cc: -24- Los Angeles (REGISTERED)

CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
CP, USA, SECURITY MEASURERS
CP, USA, EDUCATION
CP, USA, LINE
CP, USA, FACTIONALISM
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
CP, USA, BRIEF
CP, USA, RELIGION
APTHECKER
FRED
JANE (SWANHUYSER)
JIM

DOROTHY HEALEY
BEN DOBBS

cc: -1- Bureau (REGISTERED)

(100-345322)

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SD 100-741

"The meeting was called to order by Council Chairman DOROTHY HEALEY at 10:00 a.m.

"The first order of business was a reading of the minutes of the previous meeting by BEN DOBBS.

"The minutes of the District Board were then read. However, these were read so rapidly that no notes could be taken.

"It would appear that there is a suspension trial going on in Los Angeles County. However the names of the persons to be tried were not obtained. The sub-committee for the suspension hearing is composed of four people: [redacted], DOROTHY, DANNY and [redacted] DOROTHY is probably DOROTHY HEALEY and [redacted] is probably [redacted]

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"DOROTHY HEALEY then reported that the People's World drive was far below normal and the situation was very serious. She stated that if money didn't start coming in pretty rapidly, the paper would be in a very precarious position and might have to be suspended.

"It was also announced that if any of the Clubs or Sections desired it, [redacted] would be available for discussions of the Italian and French debate that appeared in Political Affairs magazine recently.

"It was also announced that on September 4, 1957, there would be a Section Organizers meeting with the legislative directors. The place of the meeting was not stated.

"A banquet was also announced for September 14, 1957 as a testimonial for [redacted] and for the purpose of raising money for the People's World.

"The next order of business was reports by delegates that had recently attended a National Committee meeting in New York City. These delegates were [redacted] DOROTHY HEALEY, BEN DOBBS and [redacted]

[redacted] gave a summary of a report given to the National Committee by EUGENE DENNIS, which dealt primarily with the role of the United States in connection with the atom bomb and atomic and hydrogen situation in the world.

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SD 100-741

He also spoke on the possibilities and probabilities of tensions growing in the cold war or perhaps releasing. He stated that he felt the chances for a world wide conflagration at this time were less than they had been for many, many months, but he didn't feel the United States was making any serious effort to alleviate the cold war situation entirely. He stated that this was due primarily to one section of the monopolist capitalist class in the United States controlling DULLES and his advisors in the State Department, and another section controlling [redacted] and his position in the disarmament conference going on at the present time in London. He felt also that there was considerable dissension among members of the higher echelons of the United States government, and that there was considerable jockeying for power between DULLES and [redacted] and for these reasons they weren't making much headway in the conference.

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"The report by [redacted] is to be mimeographed and sent to the delegates. It will probably be available at the next meeting.

"There was also a lengthy report on the fact that there had been a move made at the National Committee meeting to unseat JOE CLARK, Foreign Editor of the Daily Worker, due to a recent article he had in that paper regarding the removal of MOLOTOV, et al, in the Soviet Union. He apparently disagreed with the method used by the Central Committee of the Soviet Union in removing these men, and as a result, he invited the wrath of several members of the National Committee, including FOSTER and DAVIS and others. However, he was strongly defended by JOHN GATES, on the grounds that he was an editor and had the right to express any personal opinions. He was accused by the FOSTER-DAVIS group of not following the Party line. According to the report we got, they were immediately challenged on what the Party line was. The Party had not established any Party line and therefore no one could say whether or not CLARK was following the Party line.

"A resolution was introduced to unseat CLARK, but it was defeated 27 to 12. [redacted] HEALEY and DOBBS stated they voted against his being unseated.

SD 100-741

They said they felt that no evidence had been furnished that his ideas were wrong in any sense. Apparently someone felt that his article did not follow Marxist lines and he should therefore be removed.

[redacted] felt that the CLARK¹ issue was introduced by the FOSTER-DAVIS group as a phony issue that they could discuss in the conference in preference to fighting on ideological issues, such as have been coming up between GATES and his followers on one side, and FOSTER-DAVIS and their followers on the other side.

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"It was the general consensus of HEALEY, DOBBS, [redacted] and [redacted] that the National Committee was pretty well infested with factionalism, but there had been quite an improvement in that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and PETTIS PERRY had been added to the National Executive Board, and they felt this would be a stabilizing influence and make for a more amicable operation of the Committee.

"BEN DOBBS' report was primarily on organization as it was discussed in the National Committee. He dealt primarily with our needs for discussion and organization, and the method of organization. However, he offered no concrete policy or proposals and apparently none were discussed.

"It was also announced that APTHEKER had recently been appointed permanent editor of Political Affairs, and BLUMBERG, Legislative Director for the National Party. According to those making the National Committee report, BLUMBERG made the statement that one of the things needed most by the Communist Party in the United States was knowledge of how to build an effective Party closely related to the masses and that a reconstruction of the Party in the United States was needed.. BLUMBERG felt that the two extremes working against each other in the Communist Party must be eliminated or the Party would suffer seriously.

"DOBBS gave a summary of the membership of the Communist Party at the present time. He stated that the 1956 registration in New York State reflected that there were 8,800 members and today they estimate 3,000 Communist Party members.

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"In the Northeast, that is the New England states, in 1956 there were 387 CP members and today they estimate 350 members.

"The following are membership figures for the Communist Party in the rest of the United States:

| <u>State</u> | <u>1956</u> | <u>Present Day</u> |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| East Pennsylvania | 600 | 450 |
| West Pennsylvania | 120 | 85 |
| Ohio | 588 | 450 |
| Illinois | 1000 | 650 |
| Minnesota | 272 | 200 |
| Washington | 350 | 300 |
| New Jersey | 730 | 600 |
| Connecticut | 200 | 100 |
| Wisconsin | 164 | 135 |
| California | 3900 | 2200 (estimated) |

"In other words registration in 1956, nationally was 17,000 and today they estimate 10,000. A loss of 7,000 in one year, and in New York State alone a loss of 5,800 for one year. It was stated by one delegate to the National Committee, that it was reported back there that people are leaving the Party constantly and are not being replaced by new recruits.

"The National Committee is to meet again in October to discuss nothing but the National Negro Question. This is as a result of the Civil Rights battle that has been going on in Congress.

"There are a number of educational pamphlets being prepared for publication. There is a pamphlet on the H-Bomb, on Inflation, on the Labor Movement, on the Right to Vote, on the Supreme Court Decision and on Youth. There is also a publication being prepared on the Communist Party and Labor Economics and the Political Movements. There is also one coming out on Daily Party Organization.

"Great stress is being placed at the present time on recruiting former members, and a systematic visiting of people who have left the Party

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"On August 16, 1957, there was to be an emergency mass meeting for five Spanish sailors who apparently have jumped ship and have asked for political asylum in the United States. It was not stated where the mass meeting would be held.

"The next meeting of the District Council will be held on Friday evening, September 13, 1957, 8:00 p.m. at the Park Manor Hotel, Los Angeles, California.

"A bulletin, including the reports by the four delegates to the National Committee will be available about August 20, 1957.

[redacted] who was the only one of the delegates from California who voted for the ouster of CLARK, made a short report. She appeared to be inexperienced in public speaking. Her report was not very coherent. She did state she felt the National Committee was short in some of its discussions and had no discussion at all on the question of Women and Children. She felt that there was nothing clear on what the Party is trying to do and no line set down for the Party to follow.

"She stated she primarily voted for CLARK's removal because GATES opposed his removal and she felt he was not sincere and felt it would be better for her to support FOSTER and DAVIS.

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"She also stated that other officials at the National Committee meeting stated that APTHEKER's recent book 'Truth About Hungary' was not a Party book and was not approved, recommended or endorsed by the Party. She said that the way she understood it, APTHEKER was not in a position to know what the truth about Hungary was.

[redacted] also felt that the meeting was an improvement over previous meetings of the National Committee. She felt they were getting more stabilized and there was less bickering. She felt that in a few months perhaps, they would get down to real business. She also felt that they spent too much time on the Daily Worker and it should not be allowed to bog down National Committee meetings.

SD 100-741

"Incidently, it was announced that the Daily Worker was being reduced to a four page paper.

"One of the delegates to the National Committee stated that about one third of the whole two or three day meeting of the National Committee was taken up with the JOE CLARK issue. It was felt that this was a waste of time and not pertinent to the business that should have been discussed.

"The Council meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon for lunch and was re-convened at 12:45 p.m. However, it was about 1:15 p.m. before it got under way again.

"The afternoon session was taken up with a discussion of the reports by the delegates.

[redacted] a union painter who formerly lived in San Diego, and who now resides in the City Terrace District, Los Angeles, was one of the first to speak. He felt that the Party should now get down to practical issues and not spend so much time criticizing the National Committee. He objected to so much characterization and felt they must get down to concerted objectives. He felt there must be an organization policy.

[redacted] felt that the reports were very constructive.

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[redacted], an engineer, in his early or middle fifties, grey haired, small grey moustache, 5'10" to 5'11", felt that in the work of reconstructing the Party, we should concentrate in getting the Clubs involved in activities; activate Party members in Party work, particularly in the field of education.

[redacted], whose last name I did not get, but whom I have seen before, thinks that the biggest weakness of the National Committee is that there is a disagreement on Convention action. The mandate of the convention is to debate issues and many of the Committee members, she thinks, are not willing to continue to debate as FOSTER has stated in his reports. She feels that all of the bickering could be done away with if the members would just do as he suggested.

SD 100-741

"BEN DOBBS stated that he felt the Party should look at some of the mass problems of the American people and get to work on them.

[redacted] stated that we must be concerned with immediate problems of the people.

[redacted] stated that he distrusted all reports by delegates to the National Committee, and thinks that the Committee itself should stereotype the reports so that they could be more dependable.

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[redacted] then made a few remarks on the one policy that the Party is apparently concentrating on, and that is the anti-monopoly coalition. He feels that one of the most effective means of creating an anti-monopoly coalition is to work with all local organizations and for all members to get into those organizations, such as the PTA, the Association for the United Nations, Labor Unions, Churches wherever practical and possible, and any other civic group that can be worked with, in an effort to create a people's movement against the continued manufacture and testing of Atom and H-bombs.

"That also was the general consensus of the members present as being one of the best means of creating an anti-monopoly coalition.

"From statements made, it would appear that committees will be formed at the next meeting of the District Council in order that they may start to work in the various communities on local issues.

"In Los Angeles advantage will be taken of the coming election to replace the assemblyman who was recently elected to the City Council of Los Angeles.

"The next meeting will be held at the Park Manor Hotel, a Friday night, September 13, 1957 8:00 p.m. with a definite adjournment deadline of 11:00 p.m.

"There were 46 Council members present at this meeting.

"

SD 100-741

On 8/20/57, informant was interviewed in connection with above report. He orally furnished the following additional information which he recalled following a review of notes taken by him at the District Council meeting.

The District Board proposed that [redacted]
be considered for the job of Literature Director and
[redacted] or [redacted] be considered for
the job of Civil Liberties Committee.

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[redacted] announced that there was to be a meeting of Section Organizer, September 6, 1957, at the Hungarian Hall. [redacted] stated there existed an urgent situation in literature. The Sections will discuss education and immediately take steps to select an Educational Director.

It was the consensus of the delegates to the National Committee, that there are two main issues in the country at this time: first is the H-Bomb; second is Civil Rights.

It was announced that there is to be a meeting on the Negro Question at 5967 Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, 9/16/57.

Informants original notes taken at the District Council meeting are retained in the 1A Section of his file

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

DATE: 8/23/57

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FROM : [REDACTED] SUPERVISOR, #12-0

SUBJECT: CP USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

The Bureau by letter 8/16/57 sent the following letter to all Divisions:

"Sid Stein, organizational secretary, national administrative committee, has indicated before members of the national committee that there would be a nationwide registration of Communist Party (CP) members this fall. He also proposed the Party engage in a patient campaign of education in an effort to retain people who disagree with some parts of the Party program and friendly persuasion in other cases to influence those to rejoin who have left. Stein called for the creation of auxiliary organizations not to replace the Party but rather comprised chiefly of ex-Party members who would retain their own identity yet continue to cooperate with the Party. William Z. Foster, on the other hand, declared himself in favor of campaigning in a big way. He said he felt the spirit is good, especially in light of the Supreme Court decisions, and if the Party will arouse the people and organize a national recruiting drive thousands will join.

"The field should make certain that all efforts are geared toward completely developing CP membership data resulting from the coming registration. The techniques and sources that will make this information available are well known to the field. The techniques must be well planned and sources properly alerted in order to take advantage of the opportunities as they occur.

"All offices will submit a letter to reach the Bureau by September 20, 1957, outlining steps taken to cover the CP membership registration. This letter should also contain a synopsis of any information developed to date in this regard as well as the type of organized campaign, if any, being pursued by the CP in the respective field office territories."

The above letter should be brought immediately to the attention of all Agents and each Supervisor on Section #12 receiving a copy of this memorandum should submit to me by 9/16/57 what steps they have taken or intend to take to cover any CP registration activities in the area they cover.

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It is requested that Supervisors FRANK J. SMITH and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] provide me with any material dealing with their efforts to ascertain such membership registration by the same date.

| | | | |
|----------|--------|--------|-------|
| 1 - #7-0 | #12-11 | #12-14 | #19-0 |
| #7-4 | #12-12 | #12-15 | |
| #12-10 | #12-13 | #12-16 | |

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(11)

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 29 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

100-80638-1261

NY 100-80638

In addition to the above, of course, a summary of any substantive information developed about the registration drive should also be furnished me.

SAC, New York (100-80632)

SA JOSEPH V. WATERS

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
IS-C

Information pertaining to captioned subject may be found in reports prepared by the following offices on CP activity, in the period 4/1/57 to 6/30/57, in the CP districts. The offices writing such reports, and the New York file in which the reports are located, are:

| | |
|--------------|------------|
| ALBUQUERQUE | 100- 12524 |
| ATLANTA | 85693 |
| BALTIMORE | 11832 |
| BIRMINGHAM | 9003 |
| BOSTON | 32971 |
| BUTTE | 9254 |
| CHARLOTTE | 13618 |
| CHICAGO | 65- 2977 |
| CINCINNATI | 100- 18481 |
| CLEVELAND | 18481 |
| DALLAS | 12397 |
| DETROIT | 26854 |
| EL PASO | 12397 |
| HONOLULU | 29010 |
| HOUSTON | 12397 |
| INDIANAPOLIS | 82987 |
| KANSAS CITY | 30114 |
| LOS ANGELES | 29010 |
| LOUISVILLE | 18481 |
| MEMPHIS | 9763 |
| MIAMI | 3916 |
| MILWAUKEE | |

| | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| MINNEAPOLIS | 100- 21958 |
| NEWARK | 7451 |
| NEW HAVEN | 14532 |
| NEW ORLEANS | 2687 |
| NORFOLK | 4792 |
| OKLAHOMA CITY | 9786 |
| OMAHA | 27485 |
| PHILADELPHIA | 34929 |
| PITTSBURGH | 20136 |
| RICHMOND | 4792 |
| ST. LOUIS | 30114 |
| SALT LAKE CITY | 61916 |
| SAN ANTONIO | 15391 |
| SAN DIEGO | 29010 |
| SAN FRANCISCO | 29010 |
| SEATTLE | 10262 |
| SPRINGFIELD | 65- 2977 |
| WASHINGTON FIELD | 100- 184832 |
| BALTIMORE | PHILADELPHIA 34929 |
| INDIANA | CHICAGO 42987 |
| PITTSBURGH DIST. | 5 20136 |

JWW:HC

100-80638-1262

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| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 19 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Waters TJA

OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

b7D

TO : SAC [REDACTED] DATE: 8/21/57
FROM : SA ROBERT C. NORTON
SUBJECT : INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

ccs:

20 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- ORGANIZATION, CP USA
100- MEMBERSHIP
100- STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY
100- COMINFIL UAW
100- NEGRO QUESTION
100- EUGENE DENNIS
100- SECURITY MEASURES
100- DEFECTED CP MEMBERS
100- DAILY WORKER
100- PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS
100- JOSEPH CLARK
100- INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
100- JOHN GATES
100- FUNDS
100- SID STEIN
100- DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION MATTERS
100- 85788 [REDACTED]
100- BEN DAVIS
100- PAUL ROBESON
100- EDUCATION

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1 - Washington Field (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4

1 - Chicago (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- MEMBERSHIP

1 - San Diego (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- MEMBERSHIP

1 - San Francisco (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- MEMBERSHIP

RCN:cm
(64) (COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

100- 80638-1263

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 28 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

J. WALTER DAY

#19

JP

1 - Los Angeles (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- MEMBERSHIP

1 - Newark (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- MEMBERSHIP

1 - Cleveland (REGISTERED MAIL)
100- HY LUMER

37- Baltimore

100-10589
100-10975
100-12412
100-12076 GEORGE MEYERS
100-13289
100-12471
100-11386
100-13279
100-11983 ABE KOTELCHUCK
100-12146
100-764
100-13300
100-12173 HOWARD SILVERBERG
100-10013
100-10360
100-13280
100-623

100-12464 ORGANIZATION, DIST. #4

100-4090 BALTO. DIST. #4

100-12125 PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS

100-4268 COMINFIL UNITED AUTO AIRCRAFT WORKERS OF AMERICA

100-11950 STEEL, DIST. #4

100-20496 TRADE UNION COMMISSION

100-4750 COMINFIL MINE, MILL & SMELTER WORKERS UNION

100-12485 NEGRO QUESTION

100-12170 MEMBERSHIP

100-12458 FACTIONALISM

100-17820 HCUA

100-12070 SECURITY MEASURES

100-13964 DOM. ADM. MATTERS

100-14569 DEFECTED CP MEMBERS

100-12244 EDUCATION

100-12948 DAILY WORKER

100-11640 FUNDS

100-12456 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

100-12510 STRATEGY IN INDs.

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[redacted]

The documentation for this information is as follows:

| Identity of Source | Date of Activity and/or Description of Information | Date Furn. | Agent | Location |
|--|--|------------|----------------------------------|------------|
| [redacted] (who has furnished reliable information in the past) | District Board meeting 7/31/57 | 8/7/57 | ROBERT C. NORTON (Written) | [redacted] |

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CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"Baltimore, Maryland
August 7, 1957

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"A District Board meeting of the Communist Party district which includes Maryland and Washington, D. C. took place on [redacted]
[redacted] The following District Board members were present: [redacted]
[redacted] GEORGE MEYERS.

"MEYERS started the meeting by stating that he was going to have to make a very brief report on the New York meeting of the National Committee of the CP, which he had attended on July 27-28, 1957, because since he had returned from New York there had been a number of visits at his home by people seeking CP literature and wanting to get back into the Communist Party. MEYERS said due to this situation, he did not have much time to type out or prepare his report.

"MEYERS then said that while he had been in New York on July 27-28, 1957, he had been elected by the National Committee to the National Trade Union Com-

"mission, and had also been elected to the National Steel Commission. MEYERS said that during National Committee discussions on July 27, 1957, the Trade Union Commission came up for discussion and it was brought out by various National Committeemen that all CP members that were Trade Union members should be contacted so that the Party could start an immediate concentration for recruiting purposes. MEYERS pointed out that this would cover all Trade Unions in all areas. MEYERS said that it was decided during the discussions which followed that they should take each industry separately.

[redacted] asked MEYERS what he meant by the last statement. MEYERS replied that during the next National Trade Union Commission meeting, which would take place in New York next month, all attention would be focused on the auto industry within each separate district. He pointed out that a friend of [redacted] had already visited him since he had returned from New York, and from the short discussion that he had had with this individual he was not too sure what could be done in the auto industry in this area, but said that he expected to be in contact with this person again in the near future.

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"MEYERS then said that the industry next to be worked on would be steel.

[redacted] asked why steel would be second.

"MEYERS replied that since the steel comrades have been under attack by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, we should 'lay low' for another month before starting up activities in this area. Meanwhile, MEYERS commented the local Trade Union Commission will have time to discuss ways and means regarding tactics in steel mills.

"MEYERS said that small Trade Unions will be contacted as we go along, and as we do that we will be able to see from the attitude of the comrades in the various



"Trade Unions as to how they feel about the way the Party will be operating, that is, concentrating first on one industry and then on another. MEYERS indicated that the National Committee of the CP desires to be established in one industry before going to another industry with the biggest industry being first contacted.

[redacted] asked if anything had been said about the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union. MEYERS replied that nothing had been said, but that he was positive that this would come up at the next meeting of the National TUC.

"At this point MEYERS said that it is urgent that if anyone on the District Board has any friend working in the auto industry, information should be obtained from those friends as to conditions of work, layoffs, and amount of speed up. MEYERS said that this information is basic for the National TUC in order that propaganda might be set up for the rank and file auto workers.

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"At this point [redacted] asked how do the National Committee members decide on these issues. Is there a report made by one or two members and then a show of hands? MEYERS replied that this was not the case, that each decision was made only after a long and healthy discussion, and that the Party on a whole was very interested in activities in the Trade Union movement.

"MEYERS further commented with regard to the National TUC that it had been agreed upon that in every Trade Union movement the CP should try to set up groups aside from the CP sections operating in the particular industry so that the CP could get a foothold in the particular industry without being immediately recognized and identified. MEYERS said it was decided that these groups would be headed by men not well known as left wingers.

"MEYERS also said with regard to groups to be operating in industry, it was also decided that large groups

[redacted]
"of Negroes should be mobilized and headed by men not well known as left wingers.

"MEYERS said that the next item on the National Committee agenda during July 27-28, 1957, was organizational work, and MEYERS said it had been brought out at the National Committee meetings that the CP is in a terrible condition because of the loss of a great number of members. District Committeemen from the various CP districts made reports on the membership standing as of January 1, 1956, against present membership. MEYERS said it was brought out that as of January 1, 1956, the entire dues paid members of the CP totaled 18,000 and between January, 1956, and the end of February, 1957, the Party had lost a total of 8,000 members for various reasons. MEYERS said that it was brought out that the total CP members in New York as of January 1, 1956, were 8,000 and at present New York membership is 4,000. Chicago as of January 1, 1956, had a total membership of between 1000 and 1100, and that presently their membership was around 400. California on January 1, 1956, had 3300 CP members, and at the present time had 2200 CP members. MEYERS commented that other small cities, which he did not name, which on January 1, 1956, had around 200 members had dropped to about 100 members today. MEYERS said that he did not get the figures on the membership in New Jersey since he had not been present when that was read off, but that from the following discussion he understood that the loss in New Jersey was even greater than that in Maryland.

"MEYERS said that he had given the National Committee a report on the membership in Maryland and Washington, D. C.

"MEYERS said that after all the National Committee members had made a report on membership losses in their area, discussions were held as to why members had been lost. Foremost among the reasons given for the loss of membership were the activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and bureaucratic leadership, which had caused people to become

[redacted]

"disgusted with the CP. MEYERS said that the discussion finally boiled down to everyone being directed to go back to their respective districts and contact all persons who had left the Party, and get a general picture as to why these individuals had left the Party.

"MEYERS said it was stressed by all the National Committee members that a drive should be started to get all who had left the CP to return to the CP, and that this drive should begin in September and continue throughout October of 1957, and that this period would be one of concentration on rebuilding the CP.

"MEYERS stated that at the National Committee meetings EUGENE DENNIS gave a report on the H bomb, and suggested using the H bomb question as a springboard to bring back into the Party those who had left.

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[redacted] asked MEYERS if this September and October drive would include people under suspicion.

"MEYERS said that he understood from the discussions that took place that no matter what had been said about a person, if there was no actual proof of association on the part of the suspected person with, the FBI or other organization, they should be contacted and brought back into the CP, and if there still was a doubt as to their loyalty to the CP, it would be up to Party leadership in the respective areas to give these individuals a minimum of work which would assist the CP, but would be of no value to the government or the organization which might be using the suspected informant.

"MEYERS pointed out that in this area there is a number of people that we must make every effort to contact and bring back into the Party. He said that although there are differences among the national leaders and among local leaders, the national leaders have agreed that organizing the CP is the main thing confronting the CP today.

"MEYERS said that after long discussions on the or-

[redacted]

"ganizational work of the Party, the National Committee evaluated the relative membership standings as of January, 1956, and today and believed that the present report on the situation was not too bad in view of the attack the Party has been under by both FBI and Congressional committees. MEYERS then commented that as he saw the picture from National Committee reports, the major reason for people leaving the CP was activities of top leadership and local leadership, and that these reports brought out very clearly that rank and file members of the CP are ready for action. MEYERS said one of the encouraging things that he saw at the National Committee meetings was the fact that it had been agreed upon that CP members with third grade educations should have as much voice in CP activities as the intellectuals.

"MEYERS concluded by saying that he felt the CP could bring the 8,000 lost members back into the Party and recruit more.

[redacted] asked MEYERS whether the reports he has given tonight could in turn be given out to the various CP sections and clubs in this area.

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"MEYERS said he discussed this question with various members of the National Committee while in New York, and they felt that it should be done. MEYERS said that he felt that it was important that the information reach the rank and file CP members.

"MEYERS said they held discussions at the National Committee meeting of July 27-28, 1957, with regard to the situation of the Daily Worker. He said that most of the national leaders and he himself had asked removal of JOE CLARK as Foreign Editor of the Daily Worker. MEYERS said that some of CLARK's articles did not follow the Party line with regard to the Hungarian situation, KHRUSHCHEV's report on the 20th Soviet Congress, and the recent removal of the Russian leaders, MOLOTOV, MALENKOV, SHEPILOV and KAGANOVICH

"to lesser positions in the Soviet leadership. MEYERS commented that CLARK has been criticized for a number of years, but has never been directly attacked until lately. He said there was an almost unanimous demand by the national CP leaders that CLARK be removed. MEYERS said that arguments became so heated that JOHN GATES, Editor of the Daily Worker, finally took the position that he knows that CLARK's opinion on many issues in the Daily Worker are not correct, but that if CLARK were to be removed from the Daily Worker he himself, GATES, would also resign his position with the Daily Worker. MEYERS said at this point the national leadership had to take under consideration that the resignation of JOHN GATES at a time when the Daily Worker was barely existing might cause the whole Marxist press to be damaged. MEYERS said because of this factor, it was finally decided not to press the issue with regard to CLARK. MEYERS commented at this point that the Daily Worker is in such bad financial shape that a decision was made to cut it down to four pages.

"MEYERS at this point on his report of the National Committee meetings said that he would like to return to organizational work. He said that EUGENE DENNIS during the meetings in New York of July 27-28, 1957, made a report on the H bomb and brought out the fact that he had sent an open letter to President EISENHOWER on the danger of the H bomb. MEYERS said that 500 copies of EUGENE DENNIS' open letter to President EISENHOWER are to be ordered from New York and will be distributed among the clubs and sections of the CP in this district so that CP members can distribute them to all persons in the Party and those who are close to the left. MEYERS said in addition copies of this DENNIS letter will be mailed to professional people, such as doctors, lawyers and ministers. MEYERS said that in addition 200 copies of a pamphlet dealing with the H bomb would also be prepared for distribution.

"MEYERS said that the National Administrative Committee of the CP made the following proposal. He then read

"from a one page document as follows:

'The National Administrative Committee proposes the issuance of a quarterly National Bulletin in accordance with Article 5, Section 13 of our Constitution.

The first issue is to be published after the July 27 & 28th meeting of the National Committee. The Bulletin shall have the following general content-

- 1) Digest of National Committee reports and discussion, including diverse opinions on issues before the Natl. Comm.
- 2) Articles, resolutions and comments from Party organizations and individual Party members, inclusive of differing points of view.
- 3) Section devoted to "Party Life" reflecting experiences of Party organizations.

The proposal is that the Bulletin be started as a 4 to 6 page quarterly in the same form as the Pre-Convention Ntl. Discussion Bulletin.

We look forward to its issuance more frequently, ultimately monthly, as the response to the Bulletin by the membership and the Party make that possible.

It is proposes that the Bulletin be sold for 5¢ per copy.

Comrade Sid Stein shall be responsible for editing and producing the Bulletin with assistance of comrade Hy Lumer and the Educational Comm.

* * * * *

Books recently off the Press.

The Ordeal of Mansart by W.E.B. DuBois 3.50

[Redacted]

The Truth About Hungary by Herbert Aptheker 2.00

The Empire of High Finance by Victor Perlo 5.50

* * * * *

The Educational Committee has a whole number of articles, discussion guides and pamphlets either at the planning stage or in the making.

These deal with many subjects from the Party Constitution and Convention decisions to the question of socialism in America, topical questions such as the outlawing of the H bomb, the shorter work week, etc., to pamphlets dealing with a Marxist examination of various stages of American history.

* * * * *

July issue of Political Affairs:

Ideas in our Time Herbert Aptheker

The Pilgrimage to Washington Benjamin J. Davis

The Truth About Hungary. Book Review
 Hyman Lumer

Philosophy in Revolution Harry K. Wells

On Contradiction Among the People
 Mao Tse-tung!

"MEYERS said that he was not able to get the complete National Committee report because he had to take an 8:00 PM train out of New York on Sunday, and the committee was still in session at the time he left.

"MEYERS said that the National Committee has exonerated BILL TAYLOR from all charges, and that he has been reinstated in the CP with full confidence. MEYERS said that the National Committee had condemned the California

[redacted]

"CP leaders for their activities against BILL TAYLOR at the time when TAYLOR was fighting for the rights of Negro comrades on the West Coast and against White Chauvinism. MEYERS said the National Committee condemned the California CP leaders for driving TAYLOR out of the state for his activities on behalf of an uneducated Negro woman who had spoken out against white chauvinism in that area. MEYERS said that all the National Committee members and leaders welcomed TAYLOR back into the CP.

"MEYERS said while he was in New York during July 27-28, 1957, he had a two hour discussion with BENJAMIN DAVIS concerning the decision of the CP District Board which met on July 23, 1957, which was to the effect that DAVIS should be contacted on the question of [redacted]. MEYERS said that he advised DAVIS that the District Board would like to have DAVIS come to Baltimore, and pointed out to DAVIS that [redacted]

[redacted] had contacted MEYERS on the situation in Maryland regarding Negro membership in the CP. MEYERS said that he pointed out to DAVIS that the attitude of the newly elected District Board members was to the effect that Negro membership should be encouraged, and that further he told DAVIS that it was not only a question of obtaining Negro members for the CP, but that if DAVIS would come to Baltimore he, DAVIS, should visit not only Negro but white comrades who had left the CP for one reason or another. MEYERS said, however, that he had pointed out to DAVIS that if DAVIS came to Baltimore it would be the District Board not [redacted] who had requested DAVIS' visit. He told DAVIS that the District Board had decided that [redacted] should be the comrade responsible for taking DAVIS around the city of Baltimore.

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"MEYERS said that BEN DAVIS told him that when he, DAVIS, had talked to [redacted] while the latter was in New York that he had told [redacted] that the latter had a number of good discussion points, and that [redacted] should see GEORGE MEYERS when [redacted] returned to Baltimore. DAVIS assured MEYERS that he had not committed himself to [redacted] as to the manner in which the District Board in Maryland should act since he, DAVIS, did not live in that area. MEYERS said that DAVIS told him that if he, DAVIS, did come to Baltimore he would try to help straighten out the membership problem.

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"MEYERS then said that BEN DAVIS finally agreed to come

"to Baltimore for two or three days during September, and that the visit would take place over a weekend since DAVIS would have to be back in New York on Monday morning. DAVIS appreciated the offer and the efforts of the District Board to bring about Negro and white unity. MEYERS said that DAVIS emphasized the necessity of building the Party.

"At this point [redacted] asked what [redacted] position would be upon the arrival of BEN DAVIS.

[redacted] reminded [redacted] that at the District Board meeting held on July 23, 1957, it had been decided that [redacted] would not be responsible for seeing BEN DAVIS about the city, and that even if it was decided to let [redacted] participate in some meetings with Negro comrades, all the meetings and arrangements would be made by [redacted] and no other District Board member involved except GEORGE MEYERS, the Acting Chairman of the district.

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"District Board members then agreed to give [redacted] authority to work with BEN DAVIS, and that District Board members were to work to contact and alert past CP members, white and colored, to the contemplated visit of BEN DAVIS and invite them to discuss problems with him, and that when BEN DAVIS arrived the CP members would be advised.

"MEYERS said that he told BEN DAVIS that the District Board would not accept any substitute with regard to BEN DAVIS' contemplated visit. MEYERS said he pointed out to DAVIS that a number of years ago PAUL ROBESON had been expected at Baltimore to attend a meeting with Negro comrades, and that [redacted]

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[redacted] had mobilized a large number of Negroes to attend the meeting. MEYERS said that he told DAVIS that ROBESON did not show up at the meeting, and that the Negro comrades had been very much upset due to the disappointment and losing a day's work. MEYERS said that DAVIS had assured him that he would not disappoint the District Board, and that during his visit to Baltimore he would visit a number of professional people whom he knew.

"MEYERS told the District Board members that on the Tuesday night just past [redacted] had visited his, MEYERS', home again and wanted to know what the CP was doing regarding the Civil Rights Bill. MEYERS said he told [redacted] that he had been out of the city, and that all he knew was that the CP was trying to get some sort of activity under way. MEYERS said that [redacted] [redacted] pointed out that a number of things should be done concerning pushing of the Civil Rights Bill such as contacting professional people in the city who are willing and ready to put up a fight for Civil Rights Bill with no compromise. MEYERS said that [redacted] was also willing and ready to mobilize a fight around the Mondawmin issue, meaning the fact that certain stores in the Mondawmin area would not serve colored people. MEYERS said that [redacted] also indicated that he wanted to participate in various other CP activities.

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[redacted] said that [redacted] should be responsible for contacting [redacted] and at no time should [redacted] discuss with [redacted] other than matters dealing with [redacted] assignments for the CP, such as the Civil Rights Bill or the Mondawmin issue. [redacted] said that the CP could not overlook an active worker, such as [redacted] on matters which would be of interest to the CP.

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[redacted] and GEORGE MEYERS agreed with [redacted] [redacted] agreed with the decision of the other District Board members.

"GEORGE MEYERS said a National Appeal Committee has been set up for all persons deprived of membership in the CP who are unable to get a hearing from their District Board. MEYERS said if the District Board does not act to hold a hearing or to clear the individual, the aggrieved person can appeal to New York.

"GEORGE MEYERS then said that the District Board must hold a meeting with [redacted] and ABE KOTELCHUCK if possible, and that he, MEYERS, has made up his mind that if KOTELCHUCK refuses to attend such a meeting, that there is no other alternative but to accept [redacted]

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[redacted]
"membership back into the CP, and make an announcement to that effect to the CP members.

"MEYERS said that this should not only pertain to [redacted] but to all people suspected, excluding only persons who have been exposed as informants.

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"The District Board agreed that GEORGE MEYERS should contact ABE KOTELCHUCK, and that [redacted] should contact [redacted] at a later date to be decided on so that the meeting could be arranged.

[redacted] made a suggestion that the District Board try to keep information regarding District Board membership as tight as possible, and that [redacted] should under no circumstances know the true membership of the District Board. [redacted] said that when [redacted] came before the District Board, the group should appear to be an Appeal Committee.

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"The District Board agreed with [redacted] suggestion.

[redacted] then asked MEYERS whether during the National Committee meetings, July 27-28, 1957, there had been any discussion on steel. MEYERS said when they met to set up the National TUC, steel came up for discussion but that not much discussion occurred due to lack of time.

[redacted] asked MEYERS whether he told the National Committee about comrades who had lost their jobs from steel, and also the fact that one of the comrades went back to steel. She specifically asked what their reaction was on the latter situation.

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"MEYERS said he reported to the National TUC concerning the comrades who had lost their jobs in steel, and told them that [redacted] had been instructed to go before the union and the company and tell them that he had not been a CP member for the past two years and was not now involved in CP activities, and that as a result [redacted] had been able to return to work. MEYERS explained to the National TUC that this was a Party decision because of the fact that [redacted] needed a job and was a Negro. MEYERS said that they took the reasons under consideration and thought that it was a proper decision.

[redacted] said that since the last District Board meeting, he held a meeting with his section and they wanted to know if the District Board had discussed the question of holding an enlarged Party meeting for discussion purposes. [redacted] said that he told them that he had forgotten that question due to a long discussion on the activities of ABE KOTELCHUCK.

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[redacted] that at the last section meeting they had not pressed this point, but since it was now brought up they would like to hold a large meeting to discuss the activities of ABE KOTELCHUCK, who has been active in their area, plus the activities of [redacted]

[redacted] which they have heard about.

[redacted] said he told his section that he supported this type of discussion and intended to recommend that the District Board call a large Party meeting to discuss the activities of [redacted] and KOTELCHUCK.

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"At this point [redacted] said that she disagreed and could see no value in an enlarged Party meeting at this time. She said that the District Board should first build the CP and draw people back into the CP who had left for one reason or another, and then after talking to the rank and file of the CP, getting their feeling with regard to the building of the Party and other issues, and after letting the rank and file CP members know what the district leadership has planned, then have an enlarged meeting to discuss the activities of [redacted] KOTELCHUCK and [redacted]

"GEORGE MEYERS and [redacted] supported [redacted] position with the understanding that GEORGE MEYERS follow through with the past District Board decisions regarding his contacting of ABE KOTELCHUCK and inviting KOTELCHUCK to come before the District Board and explain his actions.

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"The District Board again gave GEORGE MEYERS authority to contact KOTELCHUCK.

[redacted] brought up the question as to what section

[redacted] b7D

"of the [redacted] held membership. MEYERS replied that as far as he knew [redacted] was a member of the Steel Club since [redacted] had told him that shortly after MEYERS had returned from prison.

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"MEYERS asked [redacted] if he had any information regarding the section or club that [redacted] was a member.

"[redacted] replied that he did not know.

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[redacted] said that a person like [redacted] should be asked regarding the section he belonged to, and that if he did not belong to any particular section to try to attach him to a CP section.

"GEORGE MEYERS then asked the District Board to give him authority to ask [redacted] to act as advisor on political affairs.

[redacted] pointed out that at the June 20, 1957, District Board meeting that he had recommended [redacted] for the District Board, and that he thought that [redacted] should still be considered for a position on the District Board.

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"The other members of the District Board disagreed with [redacted] suggestion.

[redacted] commented that [redacted] would be of no value to the present district leadership, and [redacted] and GEORGE MEYERS agreed.

[redacted] said he was told by HOWARD SILVERBERG that SILVERBERG had recently met [redacted] and had held a discussion with [redacted]. [redacted] wanted to know from SILVERBERG what the CP had been doing with regard to the steel workers who had lost their job due to HCUA hearings in May, 1957. SILVERBERG told [redacted] that they had raised money, and instructed [redacted] to see GEORGE MEYERS. SILVERBERG said that [redacted] did not say anything as regards to seeing MEYERS, but did give SILVERBERG his address.

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"MEYERS asked [redacted] to see [redacted] wife, and try to get them to return to the CP.

"The District Board decided that [redacted] should contact the wives of [redacted] and see if they were interested in carrying on Party activities. Both [redacted] and GEORGE MEYERS pointed out that [redacted] were part of the opposition, but despite this fact their wives should be contacted.

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"It was decided that the next District Board meeting should be held at GEORGE MEYERS' home on Thursday, August 8, 1957.

"It was finally decided that a full District Board and District Committee meeting should be held during the middle or last part of September, and that at the next meeting of the District Board, to be held on August 8, 1957, proposals of a minimum program for CP activities should be brought up. It was also decided at the time of the September meeting each District Board member should make a report on some phase of CP activity."

This memo has been compared with informant's original statement and it is accurate in substance. (u)

The one-page document which concerned in part a National Administrative Committee proposal which is set out verbatim in above written report, was secured by [redacted] on 7/31/57 from GEORGE MEYERS. The document was photostated on 8/2/57 by SA ROBERT C. NORTON and the photostat initialled by informant on 8/8/57, is placed in [redacted].

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM --- UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-32208)

DATE: 8/26/57

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b7DFROM : SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: CPUSA MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

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| SEARCHED | INDEXED |
| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| AUG 26 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Waters

J. Waters

On 8/5/57, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SAs [redacted] of the following. This information has been incorporated into a statement which was read and initialed by the informant on 8/13/57 and is maintained in [redacted]

| | | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 2 - Baltimore (REGISTERED MAIL) | 1 - 100-1045 | b6 b7C |
| 1 - 100-11440 (JAMES BRUNSWICK) | 1 - 100-31147 | [redacted] |
| 1 - DELAWARE STATE CP | 1 - 100-32861 | [redacted] |
| (3) 3 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL) | 1 - 65-1686 | (THOMAS NABRIED) |
| 1 - CPUSA ORGANIZATION | 1 - 100-38020 | [redacted] |
| 1 - CPUSA MEMBERSHIP | 1 - 65-4641 | [redacted] |
| 1 - CPUSA PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS | 1 - 100-23953 | [redacted] |
| 1 - Albany (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-18827 | [redacted] |
| 1 - Boston (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-20310 | [redacted] |
| 1 - Chicago (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-1957 | {1st CD REGION} |
| 1 - Cleveland (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-1607 | {2nd CD REGION} |
| 1 - Cincinnati (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-1955 | {4th CD REGION} |
| 1 - Detroit (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-710 | {5th CD REGION} |
| 1 - Los Angeles (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-2000 | {6th CD REGION} |
| 1 - Milwaukee (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-711 | {PROFESSIONAL SEC} |
| 1 - Minneapolis (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-2847 | {BUILDING TRADES} |
| 1 - Newark (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-1502-4111 | {YOUTH & STUDENT} |
| 1 - New Haven (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-17446 | (DELAWARE STATE) |
| 1 - Pittsburgh (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-31723 | {CPUSA ORGANIZATION} |
| 1 - San Diego (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-33636 | {CPUSA DOMESTIC ADM. ISSUES} |
| 1 - San Francisco (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-32067 | {CPUSA EDUCATION} |
| 1 - Seattle (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-33143 | {CPUSA NEGRO QUESTION} |
| 1 - Springfield (CP MEMBERSHIP) (RM) | 1 - 100-33144 | {CPUSA YOUTH MATTERS} |
| 32 - Philadelphia | 1 - [redacted] | b7D |
| 1 - 100-32208 (CPUSA MEMBERSHIP) | | |
| 1 - 100-38755 | | |
| 1 - 101-468 | | |
| 1 - 100-34061 | (WILLIAM CRAWFORD) | |
| 1 - 100-2427 | (DAVID DAVIS) | |
| 1 - 100-35375 | | |
| 1 - 100-20479 | | |
| 1 - 100-2445 | | |

JTB:LRB

(53) fpm

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| AUG 26, 1957 | |
| FBI, PHILADELPHIA | |

JTB

TH 100-32208

"Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
August 5, 1957

"A meeting of the District Committee, Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), was held [redacted]

[redacted] The following members of the District Committee were in attendance:

[redacted]
THOMAS NABRIED
DAVID DAVIS
WILLIAM CRAWFORD

b6
b7C

"Report by DAVID DAVIS

"DAVID DAVIS, Chairman, CPEPD, gave the main report. He stated that he attended a meeting of the National Committee, CPUSA, recently held in New York City. At this meeting representatives from various sections of the country reported on the status of party membership in their respective districts. According to DAVIS the following membership figures were reported:

| <u>"District</u> | <u>Membership Before 20th Congress of Soviet Union</u> | <u>Current Membership</u> |
|----------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| New York | 8,800 | 3500 to 4000 |
| New England | 387 | 150 |
| Western Pennsylvania | 120 | 85 |
| Ohio | 588 | 450 |
| Michigan | 411 | 300 |

FH 100-32208

| | | |
|-------------|------|------------|
| "Illinois | 1000 | 600 to 700 |
| Minnesota | 272 | 200 |
| Washington | 350 | 300 |
| New Jersey | 750 | 600 |
| Wisconsin | 164 | 125 |
| Connecticut | 200 | 100 |
| California | 2900 | 2200 |

"DAVIS pointed out that it was apparent from the above figures that the CP has lost many members during recent months. Party leaders have agreed the situation is serious, but not fatal. The CPUSA can rebuild. Many who quit the party had contributed little to the CP during recent years. The party is now rid of 'excess baggage' and there remains a hard core of party members who can serve as a solid base on which to rebuild the party. Party leaders feel, however, that the Comrades who have recently resigned should not be dropped completely but each section should assume the responsibility of maintaining contact with these people and possibly reactivating them at a subsequent date. Each section should prepare a definite program to be followed by that section in maintaining the above contacts.

"Following the report by DAVIS, Section Organizers present were interviewed to report on the status of their respective sections.



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[redacted] Organizer of a West Philadelphia Section, stated there were approximately 26 members in her section. There has been only a slight drop in membership since the 20th Congress, and the membership at the present time appears to be stabilized. She pointed out, however, that the clubs were not holding regular meetings and many of the members were not performing their CP duties.

"BILL CRAWFORD"

"CRAWFORD stated there are 23 members in his section and while there have been few resignations from the

PH 100-32208

"party, many of the Comrades have moved to other areas and transferred their membership. CRAWFORD said that in his opinion many of the current difficulties could be alleviated if the party could build a strong ideological program around which to operate.

[redacted]

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[redacted] Organizer of the Professional and Student Section of the CP, stated there were currently 29 members and five clubs functioning in this section. He said there has been no drop in membership since the 20th Congress, but there are many problems in the section that will have to be resolved if the section is to function properly. Due to the occupations of members of this section, it is necessary that maximum security precautions be observed. In order to do this, organization and activities have been sacrificed. One CP club in the section has only two members, a man and his wife. It is impossible for a club of this size to function properly. Other clubs in some instances are also small and club members are reluctant to enlarge their groups in order to protect their identities. Also for security reasons, many Comrades in the section have refused to accept leadership responsibilities. The principal contribution to the party at the present time is financial. There has been some recruiting in the professional section principally among the youth, and there have been some recruits among this group.

[redacted]

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[redacted] is Section Organizer of the 47th - 29th Wards Section. He stated there were currently 20 members in the section and there had been no defections since the 20th Congress. However, during recent months there has been a substantial decrease in section activities around the press. The section has outlined and is carrying forward a program built around civil rights questions.

[redacted]
[redacted] who is Organizer of the Building Trades Section, stated that members of his section were also required to maintain maximum security. For this reason they cannot participate in press circulations and their principal contribution to the party is also a financial one. The membership of this section is now stabilized, and there have been no recent resignations from the party.

[redacted]
[redacted] who is now working in South Philadelphia, talked at length about his own party background and experiences. He said that 'the enemy' is still among us and we must protect the members of our party. For this reason [redacted] said he did not believe CP clubs should be combined into large groups, but that small clubs should be retained.

[redacted]
[redacted] stated there were 23 CP members in her section but even she did not know all of these people. There are two functioning clubs in the section, one of which is meeting regularly while the other meets on an irregular basis. She stated she believed there was still in the party sufficient members to rebuild the organization. The members that are left represent the 'hard core.'

[redacted]
[redacted] stated that in his section the Comrades were raising a lot of questions as to why there is not an educational program in the district. He said this was responsible in part for the present condition of the CP. He said there was also an unhealthy situation developing in some of the sections of the party in that the membership of these sections is 100 per cent white. He said an effort should be made to get Negro Comrades to become active in these areas.

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[redacted] stated there are many problems in Delaware State and there is not sufficient party personnel to develop an effective program. There is growing Negro - white tension, and the White Citizens Council has moved to Wilmington. He emphasized that if the party anticipated doing anything in this area, additional help would be required.

"THOMAS NABRIED

"NABRIED said it was obvious from the above reports that the party was in a bad situation. He said the CP needed Central Issues around which to raise the ideological thinking of Comrades and bring them back together. One of these is Peace and Civil Rights. The field here is wide open for an effective educational program. He said that within ten days the National Committee, CPUSA, was getting out a series of pamphlets which will deal with a program adopted by the CP on the National level. These pamphlets will deal with: (1) Peace and the H Bomb; (2) Civil Rights; (3) Negro matters. These pamphlets, some of which will not be issued directly by the party, will be directed not only to currently active CP members but also to party members who have recently fallen away from the party. These pamphlets will be available in approximately ten days and an introductory article relating to this material will appear in the next issue of Political Affairs.



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[redacted] stated that in order to bring the material contained in these pamphlets before the Comrades that a series of area conferences should be held in Philadelphia immediately following Labor Day. Members of the Administrative Committee should participate in these conferences, and they should be made sufficiently broad so that people who have recently dropped out of

PH 100-32208

"the party can attend. He said that every possible effort should be made to maintain the present membership of the CP and also to bring the defectees back into the party.

"According to [redacted] the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 20 South 12th Street, is sponsoring a program on August 6, 1957, the purpose of which will be to observe the anniversary of the dropping of the A Bomb on Hiroshima. He called for as many party people as possible to participate in this activity. [redacted] stated he had been meeting with the Quakers and he had secured 900 copies of the leaflet calling for banning of the H Bomb. These will be distributed by the various sections. Leaflets containing the open letter of EUGENE DENNIS to Pres. EISENHOWER re the H Bomb will also be distributed.

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[redacted] was critical of the District Committee. He said it was not functioning as had been originally intended. He said it was the responsibility of District Committee members to go into the various sections and assist them with their problems. He said party members were getting tired of seeing only himself, THOMAS NABRIED, and DAVID DAVIS. They want to see some new faces. No assignments were made in this regard.

"The above is a complete accurate account of information furnished orally on 8/5/57."

* * *

Pertinent portions of the above information have been previously furnished to the Bureau and the New York Office.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [REDACTED] DATE: 8/29/57

FROM : SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

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The documentation for this information is as follows:

| Identity of Source | Date of Activity and/or Description of Information | Date Furn. | Agent | Location |
|--------------------|--|------------|-------------------------|----------|
| [REDACTED] | Enlarged CP section meeting, 8/12/57 | 8/20/57 | [REDACTED] (Written) | |

cc's:
 6 - New York (REGISTERED MAIL)
 SID STEEN
 MEMBERSHIP
 BEN DAVIS

JOSEPH CLARK
 JOHN GATES
 FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMM.

2 - Bureau (as encl. to Cinal) (REGISTERED MAIL)

26 - Baltimore

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| 100-10975 | [REDACTED] | 100-12456 | INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS |
| 100-1611 | [REDACTED] | 100-13098 | CP, LINE |
| 100-1708 | [REDACTED] | 100-12485 | NEGRO QUESTION |
| 100-10995 | [REDACTED] | 100-15420 | FREEDOM OF PRESS COMM. |
| 100-13952 | [REDACTED] | 100-11640 | FUNDS |
| 100-10653 | [REDACTED] | 100-12697 | MORNING FREIHEIT |
| 100-12069 | [REDACTED] | 100-17820 | HCUA |
| 100-11983 | ABE KOTELCHICK | 100-12070 | SECURITY MEASURES |
| 100-11039 | [REDACTED] | 100-12125 | PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS |
| 100-9809 | [REDACTED] | | |
| 100-12076 | GEORGE MEYERS | | |
| 100-17819 | NORTHWEST SECTION | | |
| 100-17818 | MID-SECTION | | |
| 100-12464 | ORGANIZATION | | |
| 100-12458 | FACTIONALISM | | |
| 100-12170 | MEMBERSHIP | | |

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| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Waters

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[redacted]

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement is as follows:

"8/19/57
Baltimore, Maryland

"On the night of [redacted] I attended a meeting of the Communist Party of Maryland. It was held in the living room, 1st floor, at the home of [redacted] [redacted] previously known as [redacted]. The address was [redacted]. The meeting was known as an enlarged section meeting of what I believe to be the Northwest Section. In attendance were [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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[redacted] There were about four empty chairs as if others were expected.

"The meeting began at 9 PM with a report by [redacted]
[redacted] Before she really began her report, [redacted] interrupted her and asked her what was the nature of the meeting, who called it and by what authority? [redacted] said that she and [redacted] called the meeting as elected members of the section committee. She said that there had been another member of the committee but that the member had been transferred to another section because of that member's ability to organize that particular section. She said that therefore she and [redacted] had the authority to call the enlarged section meeting. The name of the section was never mentioned but it can be assumed that it was the Northwest Section because all of the people there were from the N.W. Section of the city. [redacted] said that the meeting had been called because it was felt that the members of the section should get together and air out their thoughts and views concerning the present state of the Communist Party such as the struggle for leadership, the alarming rate of resignations and the foreign policy of the Party in relationship to the KHRUSHCHEV government of Russia and the Hungarian uprisings. She said that she and [redacted] felt that this airing and discussion of Party problems could better be accomplished

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"through an enlarged meeting.

"[redacted] mentioned that many members had not been to a club meeting for over three months and that some type of organization was definitely necessary. [redacted] again spoke asking about the authority and the necessity of such a meeting. [redacted] said that according to her position and [redacted] position as members of the section committee they had a right to call the meeting. [redacted] also mentioned that she and [redacted] had spoken to GEORGE MEYERS concerning the advisability of such a meeting and that he thought it was a good idea.

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[redacted] then made a report from a meeting of the District Committee. She mentioned that there had been a meeting of the District Committee recently (not giving any dates). She mentioned the fact that SID STEIN of New York had been invited to come to the meeting as a guest speaker but that he didn't come which was a source of great disappointment to members of the District Committee present. She said that there was a movement afoot to have an enlarged meeting of Communist Party members of Maryland sometime in mid-September and have SID STEIN come as guest speaker if possible. She also mentioned that arrangements had been made to have BEN DAVIS of New York come to Baltimore about the end of August, 1957, for the sole purpose of speaking to former Negro members of the Party who had resigned recently over one or more issues with the purpose of persuading them to come back into the Party. [redacted] also mentioned that there was a report on the drop in attendance of the Party, nationally from 18,000 to 10,000, in New York 8,000 to 4,000, and in Maryland about a 45% decline. She also mentioned that the staff of the Daily & Sunday Worker would be decreased to twelve from eighteen and that the number of pages for the Daily would be cut down from eight to four. This was in order to reduce expenses of operation and insure the paper's continuation as an organ of the Communist Party. She also mentioned something about organizing four clubs from the Northwest and Central Sections but it was vague to me. She then said that now that we were here at this enlarged section meeting we should air our views and thoughts as to our

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[redacted]
"feelings about the Party and the present day problems which confront the Party.

"ABE KOTELCHUCK was the first to speak. He said that first he would disagree with [redacted] figures as to the per cent of present membership of the local district. Before he had a chance to elaborate, [redacted] jumped on him like a hornet, so to speak, asking him how dare he question the figures of the local District Committee. ABE said that he was not questioning these precise figures, he was questioning the percentage of truly paid-up dues active members. He said that as far as observations were concerned, he doubted if there were any more than fifteen per cent who were really paid-up active members. He said that he had been in the Party a long time and now he was faced with a situation where he didn't even have a club meeting to go to. He said that he had not been to a club meeting in three months. ABE said that as far as he was concerned the Communist Party did not even exist locally. He said that he was really disgusted and that the only thing he could do to ease his conscience and to satisfy himself was to go national. He said that he was going up to New York (over GEORGE MEYERS' head) and speak to SID STEIN to see if he could gain some satisfaction concerning a course of action to take.

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"ABE said that he was going to New York to speak for himself and not for the local district, that whatever transacted would be between himself and SID STEIN. ABE said that bureaucracy had already cropped up in the Party on a national level. He said, in an alarming fashion, that JOE CLARK had been kicked out of the Party due to his July 10, 1957, editorial in the Daily Worker, criticising the Soviet Union and the KHRUSHCHEV government for their action against MOLOTOV, KAGANOVICH, MALENKOV & SHEPILOV. ABE then went on, saying that it won't be long before JOHN GATES would be kicked out of the Party.

[redacted] talked next. She mentioned that she had been reading the 'Morning Freiheit' regularly and that from time to time there was mentioned specific examples of action against Jews in the Soviet Union. She asked if it

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[redacted]

"would not be possible for either the local district or the national committee to make a statement on this question. She said that these reports were causing her quite a bit of distress. She also mentioned that she had still been collecting money for a defense fund for the victims of the recent HCUA hearings. She wanted to know if money was still needed or whether or not the people who had lost their jobs were working again. [redacted] answered her saying that money was still badly needed, especially for legal fees.

[redacted] spoke up, saying that he too had some grave misgivings concerning treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. He too mentioned that he read the 'Morning Freiheit' regularly and had read just such reports. He said that the Party on a national level should take a stand as an American Party on this issue and should issue a statement. He said that unless it did, there would be still more resignations from the Party. He said that now that the Party has this new independence as to criticism of parties of other countries let's display it.

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[redacted] raised her hand, indicating a desire to speak. She said that she had been in the Party for sixteen years, had never missed a meeting, and was always paid up in dues. She said that all of a sudden meetings stop and everything becomes disorganized. She said that here it was August and she had not been to a meeting since May, 1957. She said that leadership was wanting, especially on the local level. She suggested that when BEN DAVIS came to Baltimore at the end of the month, it would be a good idea to have him come to a meeting of CP members in order to give them an uplift. [redacted] immediately said that she wouldn't think of asking BEN DAVIS as it would be an imposition on him, that it was certainly enough for him to come down for the one specific purpose.

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[redacted] said that she would be very much in favor of someone coming down from New York to give some type of leadership or to discuss policies as a leader should. ABE KOTELCHUCK took issue with this, saying that there was plenty of leadership locally. It was just a matter of putting it to proper use. [redacted] agreed with him.

[redacted] b7D

[redacted] made a motion that when ABE KOTELCHUCK spoke to SID STEIN in New York that he speak strictly for himself and not as a representative of a club or of the local district. ABE said that was already understood. The motion was not carried through as it was felt that it was not necessary. [redacted] then made another motion. She said that she deemed it advisable that the discussions which occurred at this meeting not be made known to any other person not present. This motion was carried.

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[redacted] then made a motion. She said that in view of the lateness of the hour which was now 11:00 PM and the fact that some present had not yet expressed themselves and others who had talked certainly had more to say, she deemed it advisable to continue these discussions at a later meeting. This motion was carried. ABE KOTELCHUCK said that, yes it was advisable to continue the discussion but that whoever came better know their Draft Resolution if they were to take a proper part in the discussion.

[redacted] said that the time and place of the next meeting was next. No one volunteered their home. [redacted]

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[redacted] said her home would be all right except for the fact that an Ober law agent lived across the street from her.

[redacted] said that her place would be all right except for the fact that her mother would probably be home and the meeting would have to take place in a smaller room upstairs. She said that her mother was out this night, therefore, they were able to meet downstairs. The time of the meeting was fixed for Monday. [redacted] and place, home of [redacted]

"At the meeting some literature was sold. A book entitled 'The Truth About Hungary' was for sale. I bought a copy of July 'Political Affairs' and of July 'Masses and Mainstream.' Also one copy of a pamphlet 'To Live or Die' concerning sentiment against H bomb tests. Total cost of books purchased \$.80.

"The meeting was chaired by [redacted] She called for an adjournment of meeting at 11:15 PM. Motion was carried.

[redacted] b7D

"As I left I noticed that a number of persons who had
left before me had not parked their cars in same block
as [redacted] house although there was parking space."

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This memo has been compared with the informant's original
statement and it is accurate in substance.

Best Copy Available

9/13/57

AIRTEL

SAC
DIV. 1
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DIV. 4
REC. 1
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REC. 3
REC. 4
REC. 5
REC. 6
REC. 7

JAM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (100-20773)
CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C
FINAL

"MINE" RUSSO, member of the CP, USA, District 1 Committee, stated during August, 1957 that members of the CP National Committee are now divided in thought that it has been impossible to pinpoint certain committees as they had planned.

RUSSO said that each member on the National Committee interprets the results of the CP National Convention to suit himself and have been unable to reach any agreement as to what to do next.

According to the informant, RUSSO said that CP membership is down to about 10,000 members. RUSSO's wife, who was also present at this meeting, corrected him by stating that CP membership is now less than 10,000. "MINE" RUSSO then said that CP membership would be up to 50,000 in the near future. RUSSO said that some of the people who left the Party will now return because they misinterpreted the Party.

Above info, provided by [redacted] who states RUSSO made those statements at CP meeting in N. Y. on 8/13/57.

POWERS

END

REB-ACT

2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
1 - New York (100- CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP) (RM)
2 - Boston [redacted] (100-20773)

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AIRTEL

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| SEP 15 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Welles JPC

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9/9/57

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-11037)

RE: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C
CINAL

On 9/5/57, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that based on information furnished to the informant by [redacted] the membership of the CP of Connecticut has dropped to about half of what it used to be prior to the arrest of the leaders of the CP of Connecticut in May 1954.

The data furnished by [redacted] confirms information furnished to the Bureau informants of the New York and other offices which reflects that at the meeting of the National Committee of CP, USA, held July 27-28, 1957, it was announced that the membership of CP of Connecticut had dropped from 200 to about 100.

[redacted] are publicly known as members of the State Committee of the CP of Connecticut as of February 1956.

BRYANT

3-Bureau
1-New York (info)
2-New Haven (100-11037)
 (100-16472) (CINAL)

JCM/rr

(U)

REGISTERED MAIL

100-10638-167

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| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| SEP 10 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

Walter J.W.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NY (100-

DATE: 9/10/57

FROM : ASAC W. G. SIMON

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

New York "Herald Tribune"

COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP

At 5:12 p.m., 9/9/57, [REDACTED] of the New York "Herald Tribune", PE 6-4000, x 575, called and made reference to the resignation of JOSEPH CLARK from the CP and the "Daily Worker".

He stated that the "Herald Tribune" has contacted CP Headquarters who stated they have about 10,000 membership whereas they had 17,000.

[REDACTED] is preparing an article on this subject matter and has requested to be advised of the peak membership and the low point of membership of the CP.

I told [REDACTED] I did not feel we would be able to render any assistance but would make a check and call back.

At 5:21 p.m. I spoke with [REDACTED] of the Bureau who stated the Bureau did not have any immediate up-to-date statistics of the type desired and that in order to secure this it would involve a sizeable research problem. Accordingly it was agreed that [REDACTED] would be informed we are not in a position to render him assistance in connection with his inquiry.

At 5:23 p.m. I called [REDACTED] and so informed him.

1 - 100-
1 - 80-217

(CP, USA)

100-80638-1268

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| FBI - NEW YORK | |

J. W. [Signature]

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(3)
(1-SAC)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-68)

9/10/57

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

CP USA
MEMBERSHIP
NEW YORK DIVISION
IS - C

Re New York letter 8/9/57, setting out the progress of the NYO in identifying CP members in the New York area for the month of July.

Set out hereinafter is a breakdown showing the gain or loss in each County or Section of the SI for the period 8/1/57 to 9/1/57.

The Bureau will note that as set forth below the number of Communists on the SI as of 8/1/57 was given as 2729. In relet the last column showed the figure to be 2728. 2729 is the correct figure. An error in addition was made in relet.

2 - BUREAU (100-3-68) RM
1 - NEW YORK (100-80638)

TSM:EMD

(3)

300

QMM

100-80638

Period 8/1/57 - 9/1/57

| <u>Geographical Section</u> | <u>TOTAL 8/1/57</u> | <u>New SI'S Since 8/1/57</u> | <u>Transfers In to Office</u> | <u>Transfers out of Office</u> | <u>Cancelled</u> | <u>Intra- Office Adjustment</u> | <u>TOTAL 9/1/57</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Bronx | 444 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 1 | +1 | 457 |
| Brooklyn | 548 | 23 | 2 | 7 | 0 | +4 | 575 |
| Queens | 476 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 0 | +5 | 481 |
| Low. Manh. | 260 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 261 |
| Mid. Manh. | 240 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 1 | -2 | 243 |
| Upper Manh. | 427 | 17 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -2 | 441 |
| Westchester | 78 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 78 |
| Nassau | 77 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 80 |
| Putnam | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Sullivan | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Richmond | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 6 |
| Columbia | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Dutchess | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Greene | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Orange | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Rockland | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Suffolk | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| Ulster | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| Verif. Pending | 49 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -3 | 46 |
| Spec. Section | 19 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 |
| Unavailable | 58 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 56 |
| TOTAL | 2729 | 79 | 7 | 21 | 5 | 0 | 2789 |

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI
NY 100-80634

LETTER TO DIRECTOR, FBI
NY 100-80638

The NYO has continued to intensify its investigations, which are likely to produce results in ascertaining the structure of the CP and/or identify the members. The various investigative techniques employed have been set forth in previous correspondence.

As of 9/1/57 the NYO had 55 FD-122's being processed by the Bureau or else en route to or from the Bureau wherein recommendations had been made for inclusion on the SI. In addition, we have 103 cases in which the subjects can be recommended for the SI through the submission of a summary or up-to-date investigative report. The submission of these reports are being expedited.

The Bureau has previously been advised that the CP in the New York area plans a registration drive to end 1/1/58. During this drive the CP intends to contact members who have been inactive in the recent past. It is felt that if the NYO continues to utilize the investigative techniques employed in the past many members who have been inactive in the recent past and become active will be identified. In addition, it is felt that during such registration drive the NYO will possibly be able to place some of its RSI'S in the Party who, because of lack of recruitment by the party in the past, had been unable to join the CP.

Now with the summer months over, it is contemplated that many of the CP groups will become active again and our membership program will further be accelerated.

The importance of this program is fully realized and advantage will be taken of every opportunity during the coming registration drive to completely identify the CP membership in the New York area.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80638)

DATE: 9/12/57

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: CP, USA, MEMBERSHIP
IS - C

During the course of the interview on 8/14/57, [redacted] furnished the following information to SAs EDWARD W. BUCKLEY, [redacted] and CHESTER A. REILLY:

[redacted] former acting organizer of NY County CP and Regional Leader of the Harlem Region CP, should be protected by a T symbol and should be characterized as being in a position to furnish reliable information.

The original information is maintained in [redacted]

[redacted] stated that he had learned that the CP was planning to conduct a recruiting campaign in the fall in order to attempt to reactivate many former members. He said that BEN DAVIS was against this recruiting because DAVIS felt that it would encourage factionalism in the CP to allow many of these people to return.

- 1 - New York 100-23825 (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR) (#19-1)
- 1 - New York 100-9308 [redacted]
- 1 - New York 100-128814 (CP, USA, DISTRICT #2, MEMBERSHIP) (#19-2)

ABN:mmcp

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100-80638-1270

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| SERIALIZED | FILED |
| SEP 12 1957 | |
| FBI - NEW YORK | |

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC (100-18963)

FROM : SA ROBERT E. BOWE

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,
DISTRICT #8, FACTIONALISM
IS - C

DATE: 9/9/57

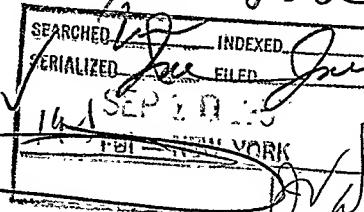
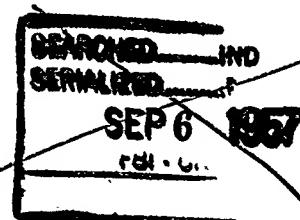
On August 27, 1957, [REDACTED] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SA'S [REDACTED] and ROBERT E. BOWE of a conversation which had occurred between [REDACTED] and CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on August 27, 1957.

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This oral information was written up in narrative report form and was subsequently returned to [REDACTED] for his approval, initialing and signature. The original of this signed narrative report will be located in [REDACTED]

- 1 - Indianapolis (RM)
100-9259 (MANNY BLUM)
- 5 - New York (RM)
 - 1 - 100-17923 (JOHN GATES)
 - 1 - 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)
 - 1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS)
 - 1 - 100- [REDACTED] (CP, USA, Factionalism)
 - 1 - 100- [REDACTED] (CP, USA, Membership)
- 11 - Chicago
 - 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-644 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-645 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 - 1 - 100-9103 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-24729 (MANNY BLUM)
 - 1 - 100-26652 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-18953 (CP, USA, Organization)
 - 1 - 100-18952 (CP, USA, Membership)
 - 1 - 100-18956 (CP, USA, Negro Question)

REB:LMA
(17)

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On August 27, 1957, it was learned that [redacted] visited CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT at the latter's residence at about 8 a.m. on [redacted]. [redacted] told LIGHTFOOT he had the following items to discuss with him:

1. A visit to [redacted] by the FBI.
2. The attitude of [redacted] toward the CP.
3. The attitude of MANNY BLUM toward the CP.

[redacted] visited [redacted] told LIGHTFOOT the FBI had recently and indicated they were aware of [redacted] being in the Communist Party and of the fact that he had some association with LIGHTFOOT.

Both [redacted] and LIGHTFOOT felt that a visit from the FBI was to be expected in view of the fact that the FBI is always going around talking to people and neither expressed much concern over this visit.

[redacted] related to LIGHTFOOT information concerning a conversation between [redacted] and [redacted] which had occurred on [redacted] at [redacted] apartment after a meeting of section organizers from the CP industrial sections. [redacted] told LIGHTFOOT that [redacted] was critical of the Party and bitterly disappointed over the fact that she was not elected to the CP District Committee. He related an incident in which [redacted] said that she talked with LIGHTFOOT immediately after the votes had been counted and while the CP Convention was still in progress concerning her failure to be elected to the Committee and of LIGHTFOOT's commenting "it's a shame" and of LIGHTFOOT's offering to intercede for her.

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[redacted] added that [redacted] told him she requested LIGHTFOOT to write a letter to the CP sections and section organizers indicating there was no factionalism in the Flynn Division and she should not be charged with any factionalism but LIGHTFOOT refused to do this as it would involve too much work. [redacted] stated that since that time [redacted] has been critical of LIGHTFOOT and in the recent past has been even more critical of him for the fact that

he went on vacation at the time of the Calumet Park racial incidents and did not take any active part for the CP in this matter. [redacted] that if LIGHTFOOT were white and the chairman of the CP of Illinois and left the area on vacation at the time of such racial disturbances, he would be charged with white chauvinism and expelled from the Party. LIGHTFOOT concluded the discussion on [redacted] attitude by stating that in his opinion [redacted] is "mentally sick."

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LIGHTFOOT told [redacted] that he knew that [redacted] was caucusing with some people at this time, and he was aware of some of her activity. At this time LIGHTFOOT also stated that he is aware of other people whom he did not name who are holding caucuses among Party members. He added that he feels that these caucuses are being held against him.

With regard to the charge that LIGHTFOOT did not take any action in the Calumet Park situation, LIGHTFOOT indicated that a similar situation had occurred in the past and at that time he, LIGHTFOOT, had told GIL GREEN to go on vacation and that he, LIGHTFOOT, would handle things while he was gone and GREEN was charged by some people with white chauvinism.

The next item discussed was the attitude of MANNY BLUM toward the Party and [redacted] told LIGHTFOOT that at the CP of Illinois Steel Section Committee meeting on August 22, 1957, BLUM had stated that he was critical of those Party members who desired to dissolve the Party or change it and give it a new look by giving up the class struggle. [redacted] related that BLUM stated he wants the CP to remain unchanged.

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By way of explanation of BLUM's attitude, LIGHTFOOT told [redacted] that at the recent CP National Committee meeting held in New York, BLUM had made a seething attack against JOHN GATES and further stated that WILLIAM FOSTER had "saved the Party."

EUGENE DENNIS then strongly attacked BLUM, stating that if FOSTER had "saved the Party" how is it that the membership is now less than 10,000. DENNIS added that during

each period of controversy in the Party there had been a resultant loss of membership and DENNIS indicated the membership at the time of the various controversies decreased on down to where the membership is now less than 10,000. However, those figures and specific periods of controversies which LIGHTFOOT stated that DENNIS referred to cannot be recalled at this time.

LIGHTFOOT stated that perhaps BLUM's critical attitude toward the Party is not completely his own but is a reflection of his wife [redacted] attitude toward the Party at this time.

[redacted] It was at this point that the discussion between [redacted] and LIGHTFOOT was concluded with LIGHTFOOT stating he appreciated [redacted] telling him about these matters.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM - UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, BALTIMORE [REDACTED]

DATE: 9/10/57

FROM : SA JESSE C. PARKER, Jr.

SUBJECT: INFORMATION FURNISHED
BY SECURITY INFORMANT

The documentation for this information is as follows:

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| Identity of Source | Date of Activity And/or Description of Information | Date Furn. | Agent | Location |
|--|--|---------------|--------------------------------------|------------|
| [REDACTED] (who has furnished reliable information in the past) | 8/19/57 CP District Board Meeting | 8/22/57 | JESSE C. PARKER, Jr. (written) | [REDACTED] |

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN REPORTING THIS
INFORMATION IN ORDER THAT THE IDENTITY
OF THE INFORMANT MAY BE FULLY PROTECTED

The text of the informant's statement, as set out below, has been compared with the informant's original statement and found accurate:

cc's:

1 - Washington Field (Regis. Mail)
100- ORGANIZATION

BA (cont'd)

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100-10584 [REDACTED]

GEORGE MEYERS [REDACTED]

4 - New York (Regis. Mail)
100- ORGANIZATION
100- MEMBERSHIP
100- DAILY WORKER
100- FUNDS

100-12076

100-12425

100-10975

100-12412

100-11983

100-764

100-8342

ABE KOTELCHUCK [REDACTED]

25 - Baltimore
100-4090 CP, USA, DISTRICT #4
100-12464 ORGANIZATION
100-17819 NORTHWEST SECTION
100-11950 STEEL SECTION
100-12458 FACTIONALISM
100-11640 FUNDS
100-12170 MEMBERSHIP
100-12244 EDUCATION
100-12125 PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS

100-13300

100-12471

100-10395

100-12490

100-12183

100-80638-1272

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| FBI - NEW YORK | |

100-8306

Waters

100-80638-1272

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JCP:sm
(30)*JD*

[redacted]
"Baltimore, Maryland
August 22, 1957

"On August 19, 1957, [redacted] went to the home of GEORGE MEYERS, arriving at approximately 8:50 PM. as had been previously arranged. GEORGE and [redacted] and [redacted] then drove to the [redacted] arriving there at approximately 9:15 PM. GEORGE gave [redacted] an envelope and asked her to deliver it to [redacted] went into [redacted] house.

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"MEYERS and [redacted] then drove to the home of [redacted] arriving there at 9:45 PM. Only [redacted] was there at the house. [redacted] said he had just gotten in from work. [redacted] and MEYERS assisted him in counting his collections for the day.

"At 10:10 PM the meeting of the previously scheduled Communist Party District Board was then begun. GEORGE MEYERS announced that [redacted] would not be present because she was holding a meeting with the District Committee members from Northwest Baltimore. GEORGE then said that this should be a short meeting because it was late and also because all members were not present. He suggested that he give his viewpoint on what should be done, and stated that he also wanted to report on two meetings he had attended, one with the District Committee members in Northwest Baltimore which he and [redacted] had attended "one day last week," and the other the meeting he and [redacted] had with [redacted]

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"MEYERS said he and [redacted] had met with the District Committee members of Northwest Baltimore in order to get a general picture of the situation in that area, and to find out what type of activity was taking place in the sections and clubs of that area. GEORGE said that quite a bit of the discussion concerned ABE KOTELCHUCK's activities in contacting individual Party members, criticizing the District Board, and trying to reorganize sections and groups in the Northwest Baltimore area.

"GEORGE said that all of the District Committee members at the meeting stated that their sections did not approve of

[redacted]

"KOTELCHUCK's activities, and agreed that even though KOTELCHUCK was the only outgoing member of the previous District Board who would accept criticism from the various sections and the past District Board, they did not feel that KOTELCHUCK's approach to reorganize was correct.

"GEORGE then stated that in his personal opinion KOTELCHUCK had been wrong in going about contacting Party members on his own initiative, without consulting the District Board. He stated, however, that he felt that in view of the fact that the door was left open by the National Convention on the question of continuing discussion of future organization and the future name of the Party that KOTELCHUCK was perhaps somewhat justified in his actions. GEORGE then recommended that the District Board talk to KOTELCHUCK and straighten him out on this point.

"GEORGE next stated that he and [redacted] had visited [redacted] [redacted] on August 14, 1957, to inform [redacted] that the District Board had voted to ask him to take some Party responsibility and be assigned to work within the Steel Section. GEORGE said [redacted] acted in such an arrogant way that [redacted] got disgusted and left after about 30 minutes. GEORGE said he stayed on and tried to convince [redacted] that since he had been in the past leadership, he should take some responsibility in seeing that the Party is strengthened and rebuilt.

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"GEORGE said [redacted] came to [redacted] while he was there, and he told [redacted] that the District Board had instructed him, GEORGE, and [redacted] to meet with Steel Section members to discuss ways and means of bringing the Steel Section closer to the Party than it has been in the past. GEORGE said he pointed out to [redacted] that since the steel clubs had not paid any dues since last October and to the best of his knowledge had conducted no significant activity, he wanted to sit down with them and map out a program for reorganizing the Party.

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"GEORGE said [redacted] agreed to meet with him on August 20, 1957, and also agreed after that contact to get some of

[redacted] b7D

"the Steel Section members to meet with GEORGE and [redacted]
[redacted]

"GEORGE said that [redacted] refused to accept any responsibility or to be assigned to the Steel Section.

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"GEORGE next commented that [redacted] and [redacted] had been going around telling various people that the reason the past District Board did not work out a broad program for the Party was because of the personality conflicts among District Board members, which conflicts kept them from ever coming to any definite conclusions.

"GEORGE pointed out that as he saw it, it was not a question of personality differences, as [redacted] claimed, but it was the matter of the intellectuals not seeing the working man's point of view. GEORGE commented that it was like getting a bunch of cats and dogs to agree. GEORGE said that all of the Party records that have been made available to the District Board and which are kept by [redacted] failed to show that [redacted] or [redacted] have paid any CP dues in over a year and a half.

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"GEORGE MEYERS then took out a letter he had received from the National Committee in New York. This letter informed him that he had been appointed to the CP National Organization Committee and instructed him to attend a meeting of that committee on September 13, 1957.

"GEORGE pointed out that he would also be attending a meeting of the National Executive Committee to be held on September 14-15, 1957, at which time that committee was scheduled to discuss the organizational drive of the Party during September and October, as well as the H bomb question.

"GEORGE then said he proposed that a joint District Board - District Committee meeting be held on or about September 20, 1957, so the District Board can give a report and submit a concrete program for the clubs and sections to consider for adoption.

"[redacted] asked GEORGE if that would give him time enough to report to the District Board after he gets

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" back from New York and still allow the District Board to make up the recommended program.

" GEORGE said he feels that the District Board should meet immediately after he gets back, and that the program be worked out immediately.

[redacted] agreed with this, and suggested that the joint Committee and Board meeting be held no later than September 22, 1957.

" GEORGE next proposed that the District Board vote to send \$100.00 as a contribution to the Daily Worker - Worker fund drive in view of the papers' critical financial situation. Those present voted in favor of this suggestion, subject to the approval of [redacted] whom GEORGE MEYERS would contact.

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" GEORGE next stated that he felt that the District Board itself should have an educational program. He made a motion that the Board buy two copies each of the following books which they would study in coming months:

1. "Labor Facts Book #13" prepared by Labor Research Association
2. "Automation and Social Progress" by SAMUEL LILLEY
3. "Fight for Freedom in Africa" by ALPHAEUS W. HUNTOON

" This motion also was adopted.

" [redacted] then reported on the meeting of his section held recently. He said that the members of the section proposed that the District Board call a large section meeting in the near future to discuss the activities of KOTELCHUCK and other individuals who have been going around trying to set up separate groups.

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" GEORGE stated that what he thought should be done was to get people who were complaining about these activities to

[redacted]
" bring up specific charges against the individuals involved.

[redacted] said he thought the District Board should go ahead with its plans to discuss ways and means of getting the Party reorganized and into action, at the coming joint District Committee - District Board meeting, and that in all probability these matters would come up at that meeting and resolve themselves. GEORGE MEYERS and BOB LEE agreed to this, and BOB said he would report to his section the Board's decision on this matter.

[redacted] then asked for instructions on how to handle the meeting between BEN DAVIS and [redacted] group. GEORGE MEYERS said he still went along with [redacted] previous suggestion that BEN meet with [redacted] group only, and that no other past or present CP members be present at that particular meeting. [redacted] agreed with GEORGE, and GEORGE said he was positive that [redacted] would also agree.

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" This ended the meeting. [redacted] started to serve coffee when [redacted] came in unexpectedly. [redacted] arrived a few minutes later. [redacted] told [redacted] that the "literature" was out in the car, and that she "had a little trouble getting it." [redacted] went out to the car, came back with the literature, and after opening the package, he gave GEORGE MEYERS about ten copies each of the August issues of Political Affairs and Mainstream."

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* * * * *

On 8/22/57 Informant orally furnished the following additional information concerning what transpired at the above meeting:

[redacted] gave [redacted] address so [redacted] might contact [redacted] to invite him to a meeting with Ben Davis.

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George Meyers told [redacted] to meet him on Saturday, August 24 and report results of contacts with [redacted]

Informant's statement, as set out above, has been compared with the original and found to be accurate.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-1126824) DATE: 9-12-57

FROM : SA PETER C. CLEMENTE (#12-10)

SUBJECT: JOINT SELF DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Identity of Source [redacted] b7D
 (protect by T symbol)

Reliability Who has furnished reliable information in the past

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|--|
| 1 - New York | [redacted] | |
| 1 - New York | (100-26603) | (CP District 2) |
| 1 - New York | (100-80638) | (Membership and Recruiting) |
| 1 - New York | (100-79717) | (CP Political Activities) |
| 1 - New York | (100-98557) | (Defense Activities) |
| 1 - New York | (100-95583) | (CP Line) |
| 1 - New York | (100-89179) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-83378) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-123881) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-114205) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-18056) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-115212) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-123757) | {JAKE LNU, W, M, 55, 5'8", 175 lbs.} (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-New) | [redacted] |

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|--|
| 1 - New York | (100-118525) | (Bronx Civil Liberties Committee) [redacted] |
| 1 - New York | (100-4137) | [redacted] (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-23825) | (BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR.) (12-16) |
| 1 - New York | (100-26018) | (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (12-10) |
| 1 - New York | (100-92763) | (PETTIS PERRY) (12-14) |
| 1 - New York | (100-1696) | (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) |
| 1 - New York | (100-17923) | (JOHN GATES) |
| 1 - New York | (100-13472) | (GIL GREEN) (7-5) |
| 1 - New York | (100-269) | (HENRY WINSTON) |
| 1 - New York | (100-48033) | (IRVING POTASH) |
| 1 - New York | (100-7664) | (JOHN T. MC MANUS) |
| 1 - New York | (100-7918) | (PAUL NOVICK) |
| 1 - New York | (100-25907) | [redacted] |
| 1 - New York | (100-20128) | [redacted] |
| 1 - New York | (100-8057) | (EUGENE DENNIS) (7-5) |
| 1 - New York | (100-27452) | (ROBERT THOMPSON) |
| 1 - New York | (100-107419) | (Emergency Civil Liberties Committee) (7-2) |
| 1 - New York | (100-21) | ("Morning Freiheit") |
| 1 - New York | (100-93572) | ("National Guardian") /100-80638-1273 |

PCC:amm
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 9/19/57 13:17
 FBI - NEW YORK
 J. R. Waterbury

NY 100-1126824

Date of Activity 7/24/57

Date Received 7/29/57

Agent Receiving SA [redacted]

Location [redacted]

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On 7/29/57, [redacted] made available a four-page hand-printed report concerning a rally held by the Joint Self Defense Committee. A copy of this report follows hereafter:

7/26/57

On 7/24/57, 8 PM, at Carnegie Hall, 57th St. and 7th Ave., NYC, a Bill of Rights Rally was held sponsored by the Joint Self Defense Committee. This affair was advertised in the "Daily Worker," of 7/23 and 24/57.

The 7/24/57 issue on page one carried an article captioned "Carnegie Rally Tonight for Liberty," which described the Joint Self Defense Committee as a body of the defendants in the third Smith Act trial held at Foley Square.

The above rally was also advertised by means of printed cards which [redacted] furnished for distribution to all members of the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee (BCLC.)

Among those who attended the above rally on 7/24/57 were [redacted]

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[redacted] height 5'8", weight 175 lbs., eyes brown, hair brown, complexion fair. [redacted] appears to take care of the ALP hall. [redacted] has been present at several rallies held during 1957 by the BCLC. As of this date it is not known if [redacted] is a member of the BCLC.

Also present was a [redacted]. He said he is retired and is on partial relief. He is a member of the BCLC and

NY 100-1126824

has been observed at several of the BCLC meetings during 1957. [redacted] also known as [redacted] was also present.

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The 7/24/57 Joint Self Defense Committee Civil Rights Rally was attended by approximately 2,000 people. The "Daily Worker" of 7/26/57 reported on page one, that over 1,600 people rallied to honor the freed Communist leaders. The chairman of this affair was BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., Chairman of the NY State CP, according to an article on the rally on page one, Column one of the "Daily Worker."

Among the speakers were LOUIS WEINSTOCK, PETTIS PERRY, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN. (FLYNN among other things said we must identify ourselves with youth and urged the need of recruiting the young into the CP.) In addition, ROBERT THOMPSON spoke. He appealed to former CP members and urged them to help cultivate friendly debate and discussion. He said the CP must not only be retained, but it must be built. He said he saw no need to depart from Marxism and Leninism.

JOHN GATES, editor of the "Daily Worker" also spoke and pledged to fight for the freedom of GIL GREEN, HENRY WINSTON and IRVING POTASH. Also among those who spoke were JOHN T. MC MANUS, introduced as General Manager of the "National Guardian," and PAUL NOVICK, described as the editor of the "Morning Freiheit."

Among those seated on the speaker's platform, who were introduced, were V. J. JEROME, ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, and JACOB (POP) MINDEL. EUGENE DENNIS also spoke.

Prohibited by law from making a collection, literature was sold far above its value. A pamphlet entitled "To Live or to Die - The H-Bomb versus Mankind," containing statements by prominent public figures was sold.

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[redacted] was observed introducing [redacted] to EUGENE DENNIS and ROBERT THOMPSON, both of whom she appeared to know well.

NY 100-1126824

[redacted] the evening of 7/24/57, stated he planned to have a private get together with ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, to talk over old times.

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A meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC), which was slated to be held 7/24/57, at Chateau Gardens, NYC, was cancelled because it conflicted with the Joint Self Defense Committee rally of the same date.

/S/ ELM

Director, FBI (100-3-68)

SAC, Little Rock (100-2306)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MEMBERSHIP
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

September 16, 1957

ReBulet to New York, 8/16/57.

As the Bureau and New York have been advised previously, there is no Communist Party organization in Arkansas and there are no known active CP members in Arkansas.

[redacted] is the only known CP contact in Arkansas. This informant has been alerted to any activity on the part of CP members or others to reactivate and re-register former CP members in Arkansas. The Bureau will be advised immediately of any activity in this connection.

2 - Bureau (100-3-68) (RM)
1 - New York (RM)
1 - Little Rock (100-2306)

PLS/gm
(4)

FED
BY [initials] ON 4/21/75



No file
Winters DW
JL